Vol. XLVII] [Parts I–IV

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Volume XLVII
1966

EDITED BY

R. N. Dandekar A. D. Pusalker

POONA

ted and published by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D., at the
Bhandarkar Institute Press, Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona 4.

1967

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Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Volume XLVII 1966

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INSTITUTE POONA
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POONA

Printed and published by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D., at the Bhandarkar Institute Press, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4.

1967

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ABHINAVAGUPTA — The Literary Critic and Commentator
(An Assessment)

BY

J. TILAKASIRI

The *Dhvanyāloka* is undoubtedly the first work of Sanskrit poetical theory, which attempted to evaluate literature critically, and Ānandavardhana, its author, is ranked as a pioneer in the field of literary criticism in Sanskit. The *Dhvanyālokalocana* or the *Locana*, as it is more popularly called, is no less valuable and interesting for, although it is written as a commentary to the former text, yet it also occupies an important place as an outstanding work in Sanskrit literary criticism. Many critics and writers have freely made use of the *Locana*, in translating and interpreting the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, especially in settling doubtful points in the text or in clarifying the references made to authors and their works by Ānandavardhana. The *Locana* still remains an important key to the understanding of the *Dhvanyāloka*, in several places where the text is brief or even enigmatic, and particularly in furnishing the basis for certain statements of a dogmatic character found in the text. It also gives us a lucid exposition of the theory of dhvani, discussing in detail the arguments and counter-arguments of the various schools concerning the validity of the theory. In many places it loses the character of a commentary and assumes the form of a vigorous original statement of the theory. In the latter part of the *Locana* Abhinavagupta adds his own citations from literature and gives detailed analysis of the summary statements or isolated references occurring in the original. And, finally, Abhinavagupta occupies a unique position in the history of poetics for besides furnishing a very illuminating commentary to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* called the *Abhinavabhāratī*, where he

attempts to define the aesthetic experience,[1] he has helped us to understand the scope and significance of the dhvani theory by his systematic elucidation of the concepts that formed the basis for its formulation. The present paper will, therefore, deal with Abhinavagupta's role as a commentator and critic, examining, first the distinguishing qualities of his style and critical technique, as reflected in the *Locana*. After this introductory survey we propose to examine his approach to literary criticism, drawing special attention to the methods he adopts in defending the canons of aesthetics against the criticisms put forward by the schools of philosophy and logic. From this investigation we would be in a position to assess his contribution to poetical theory and his position as a literary critic.

It may be argued that it is hardly possible to think of a distinctive style associated with a commentary such as the *Locana*, but it would be clear to anyone from its contents that it is no ordinary commentary. The *Locana* reflects Abhinavagupta's erudition, mastery of language and encyclopaedic knowledge which a critic had to possess in undertaking the task to write a commentary on a treatise which was in need of elucidation and interpretation. The circumstances seem to have called for a new style of writing also, combining the qualities necessary for commentary-writing with a high degree of originality expected of a theoretical treatise.

Even as a commentator, schooled in the traditonal methods, he can hold his own. He follows the usual commentarial method of first stating the *prima facie* view (pūrva-pakṣa) of a proposition, expanding on the original statements of the text, and then proceeds to take up each counter-argument in the manner of a debator, disproving them prior to the statement of the conclusion. He is at his best engaged in the parry and thrust of debate, choosing his vocabulary and phrasing it resourcefully. He is so gifted a writer that prosaic commentary writing dose not suffice and picking up the thread of an argument he develops the theme or topic with all the resources of language and logic at his command. His style of presentaion seems to owe much to the argumentative and polemical methods of discussion adopted by the logicians and philosophers.

Abhinavagupta's style, nevertheless, suffers from the usual disadvantages found in commentary-writing – the use of clumsy compounds, pedantic vocabulary, epigrammatic phrasing etc. Yet, Abhinavagupta succeeds in reducing these to a minimum. His subject matter being related to several connected disciplines like philosophy, logic and linguistics, it is not possible for him to use a racy and fluent diction, consistently. Even within this framework Abhinavagupta presents his

1 See R. Gnoli, *The Aesthetic Experience according to Abhinavagupta.*

ideas as clearly as possible giving us a methodical exposition of Ānandavardhana's views. Abhinavagupta's comprehensive survey of the five anti-dhvani schools (three sub-divisions of the *abhāvavāda*, the *bhāktavāda*, and the *aviṣayavāda*) is a good illustration of his style of presentation where we find a very clear statement of the premises on which the assumptions and divisions were made, and the sequence of arguments that the *abhāvavādins*, for instance, had adduced to invalidate the concept of dhvani. He takes great care to explain the premise for a view put forward by Ānandavardhana with prefatory remarks such as,

> *nanu mā bhūd asau śabdārthasvabhāvaḥ, mā ca bhūc cārutvahetuḥ, tena guṇālaṁkāravyatirikto 'sau syādityāśaṅkya dvitīyamabhāvavādaprakāramāha.*[1]

His detailed comments on the verse, " bhrama dhārmika . . . " cited by Ānandavardhana [2] can be taken as another instance where he brings out the varied meanings and impressions of a verse from the view point of various criteria.

Abhinavagupta also adopts a consistently critical and uncompromising attitude towards all critics of the dhvani theory, whatever their grounds, literary, linguistic or philosophical. A tone of sarcasm becomes a marked feature of his language in attacking a critic or writer. After a verbal duel with his critics he cannot restrain himself from introducing a mixture of irony and sarcasm into his concluding remarks. He lampoons an abhāvavādin, mercilessly, in this fashion,

> *Evaṁ hi kṛ te'pi na kiṁcid kṛtaṁ syādunmattatā paraṁ prakaṭiteti bhāvaḥ.*[3]

or sarcastically rebukes those who call dhvani by another name,

> *nāmāntarakaraṇe tu kiyad idam pāṇḍityaṁ tāvatā ka ātmani bahumānaḥ.*[4]

Sometimes he employs analogies, introducing them humorously to disarm his citics. He twits Bhaṭṭanāyaka, characteristically, thus

> *Yena Bhaṭṭanāyakena dvivacanaṁ dūṣitaṁ tadgajanimīlikayeva.*[5]

(where *gajanimilikā* is intended to convey a lack of critical sense.)

or

> *ko'yaṁ trāsa ityalaṁ gardabhīdohānuvartanena.*[6]

or in a decidedly more humorous vein as in

> *kumārīṣviva bhartṛsukhaṁ.*[7]

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1 *Locana*, p. 21. 2 *Dhvl.* p. 52 ; *Locana* pp. 52–70. 3 *Locana*, p. 24.
4 Ibid. p. 15. 5 Ibid. p. 104. 6 Ibid. p. 121. 7 Ibid. p. 121.

Abhinavagupta also makes a judicious use of maxims and illustrations of a popular and homely character, common to the disputants in argument. *Śuṣkakāṣṭhāgni nyāya, akaluṣodaka nyāya*[1] suggest to him two apt illustrations for describing the quality of 'prasāda' in poetry. Besides the popular *kākatālīya nyāya*[2] occur the uncommon *kākākṣinyāya°*,[3] *kākadantaparīkṣā prāyam*,[4] *kākaratitakalpam*,[5] *loṣṭaprastāranyāya*.[6] An analogy, employed more than once for the purpose of ridiculing effectively critics 'who follow the herd' is

gaḍḍurikāpravāhopahata (*sahṛdaya*)[7] *gaḍḍurikāpravāhapatito lokaḥ*[8] (*gaḍḍurikāpravāha* meaning a 'flock of goats').

His vocabulary is varied and rich consisting for the most part of terms commonly used by logicians, like *anvayavyatireka, vyāpti, ativyāpti, sādhya-sādhana, jāti, dharmin, saṁjñin* etc. As a literary critic he uses various forms of the same word, effectively, to indicate various shades of meaning and thus gives them a literary stamp in the vocabulary of criticism.

carvaṇā, carvyate, carvayitṛ, carvyamānaḥ, carvyamānatāsāraḥ
rasayitā, rasyamānaḥ, rasyamānatāsāraḥ
dhvanati, dhvanyate, dhvanana.

niṣpīḍana, parimṛdita are two adjectives very expressively used in connection with the evocation of rasa.

An occasional pedantry of idiom is, however, noticeable in expressions like

Śabdaprayuyukṣā arthapratipādayiṣā cetyubhayyapi vivakṣānumeyā tāvat.[9]

He often resorts to the method of introducing an opponent's argument or a presupposition on his part with the remarks, *nanu* or *nanveva* or *kiṁ na*. In settling the doubts and advancing arguments to substantiate his own view he uses a series of negative statements, introducing them, almost always, with the particle *na* (at the beginning of the clause) and following up with the causal ablative for giving the reasons.

na ca smṛtiriyaṁ ananubhūte tadayogāt, . . . na tātparyātmā tasyānvayapratītaveva parikṣayāt, na lakṣaṇātmā uktādeva hetoḥ skhaladgatitvābhāvāt.[10]

It is as a literary critic, however, that Abhinavagupta impresses us by his able grasp of the main developments in Sanskrit poetical theory and their bearing in the evaluation of literature. From the *Locana* we obtain a very well informed account of the controversies of Sanskrit

1 Ibid. p. 212. 2 Ibid. p. 353. 3 Ibid. p. 301. 4 Ibid. p. 364.
5 Ibid. p. 488. 6 Ibid. p. 357. 7 Ibid. p. 220. 8 Ibid. p. 291.
9 *Locana*, p. 450. 10 Ibid. p. 61.

poetical theory from the time of Bharata to the rise of the schools of dhvani and their critics. The mutual influence between theory and criticism seems to be reflected in his writings and commentaries. In the first Udyota, Abhinavagupta furnishes the relevant arguments and reasons. Ānandavardhana perhaps had in mind in making out the three-fold division of the 'negativists' (abhāvavāda). In this part, he makes specific references to the ideas and concepts of earlier critics, who are generally included under the term *abhāvavāda*. Commenting on Ānandavardhana's use of the word *prasiddhaprasthāna*[1] as referring to *śabdārthau tadguṇālaṁkārāśceti*,[2] he adds further that they were the well-know categories accepted by the alaṁkāra school (*alaṁkāra*).[3] It is clear from various other references made in the *Locana* of the first Udyota that Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Vāmana, the predecessors of Ānandavardhana, were taken as a group who did not recognise the importance of the concept of dhvani. Citations from the works of Bhāmaha and Vāmana occur later[4] and *śabdārtha* referred to above most probably alludes to Daṇḍin's definition of poetry (*śabdārthamayaṁ kāvyam*). We are also indebted to the *Locana* for a full analysis of the *bhāktavāda* (that *dhvani* is only the secondary meaning of words) which Ānandavardhana refers to in the briefest terms. Bhaṭṭanāyaka's criticisms of the dhvani theory are often taken up by Abhinavagupta, who wishes to have the last word in the argument. Yet, one cannot but feel that Abhinavagupta had held the former in high regard and unconsciously allowed himself to be influenced by his terminlogy, as is proved by the frequent use of *rasacarvaṇā* to signify the aesthetic experience.

When Ānandavardhana takes up each figure of speech[5] and shows with illustrations from literature how the suggested sense (vyaṅgya) appears to be subordinated to the primary sense (vācya) it is left to Abhinavagupta to give definitions of the tropes[6] and analyse in detail the content and the imagery of the verses cited. Abhinavagupta sometimes adds further illustrations, introducing the opinions of other critics as well, making the entire discussion assume the form of a good essay in literary criticism. In Udyota II, when Ānandavardhana elaborates the theory in greater detail, explaining the main varieties of dhvani, with suitable examples, the *Locana* also serves as a valuable guide by its valuable comments and explanatory notes helping us to understand the significance of the theoretical distinctions. Ānandavardhana, for instance, cites from the *Mahānāṭaka* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*[7] to illustrate two varie-

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1 *Dhvl.* I. p. 21. 2 *Locana*, p. 22. 3 Ibid. p. 24.
4 Ibid. p. 25 & p. 32. 5 See *Dhvl.* I.
6 Almost all the definitions given by him are drawn from the *Kāvyālaṁkāra* of Bhāmaha. See *Locana*, p. 110 et seq.
7 See *Dhvl.* and *Locana* pp. 167–173.

ties of dhvani, viz., *arthāntarasaṁkramitavācya* and *atyantatiraskṛta vācya* and makes a brief comment on the significance of a word in each verse. Abhinavagupta then proceeds, in the manner of a modern literary critic, to bring out the varied associations of meaning, and image processes suggested by the words of the verses. Abhinavagupta cites from a very wide range of writers, poets, dramatists and critics, including his own writings, to give added support to the illustrations of Ānandavardhana. It is in the third Udyota that he makes detailed observations on works like the *Ratnāvalī*, *Nāgānanda*, *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Kumārasambhava*, assessing the significance of particular words or phrases in them and carefully noting their degree of suggestibility or studying the dramatic quality of a play in connection with its ability to evoke rasa. In this section, in particular, his thorough knowledge of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives him the necessary authority to relate the literary evidence to the statements of the theory.

Abhinavagupta's polemical and provocative statements in defence of the theory of dhvani is striking evidence of the marked antagonism that existed between pro-dhvani and anti-dhvani schools of criticism since the formulation of the theory. It is clear that the rasa school led by Bharata had offered a very strong challenge to the 'alaṁkārists' who had no way of challenging the validity of the rasa concept. But the new concept of dhvani and the theory built on it remained a mystery to many, especially, the traditionalists, who were content with accepting the age-old criteria in the evaluation of literature. Just after the formulation of the dhvani theory in the *Dhvanyāloka*, there followed a period of incessant theoretical speculation, wherein the new criteria were subject to the closest scrutiny and either rejected or accommodated and adapted into existing theories by critics. Judged from this standpoint, the *Locana* represents an attempt to take stock of all these criticisms and offer an interpretation of the theory by refuting the counter-arguments of the logical and philosophical schools and in relation to the statements of the grammatical and linguistic schools regarding the function of words and their meaning. The problem of reconciling the divergent and even, diametrically, opposite points of view in the Indian systems of logic and philosophy, and obtaining evidence therefrom to establish the criterion of dhvani in the evaluation of poetry presents so many difficulties. Yet, Abhinavagupta attempts an estimate of poetical theory on these lines, competently, displaying a critical attitude least expected of an ordinary commentator. Abhinavagupta always furnishes us with valuable background knowledge, in the *Locana*, stating how the Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā and Vyākaraṇa schools conceived the function of language. He critically examines the Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya theories of knowledge as they seem to be particularly important for understanding the different functions of 'meaning'. Commenting on the function of *tātparyaśakti*,

the function of 'import of words', which precedes the *lakṣaṇāśakti*, the 'secondary' function of words, Abhinavagupta refers to the contrasting conceptions of the function of language according to the two logical schools, first the *abhihitānvayavāda*[1] represented by the Naiyāyikas and the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsakas who upheld the view that verbal knowledge depends upon the connection (*abhihitānvaya*) which is automatically perceived among the meanings expressed by words individually in a sentence, as opposed to the Prābhākara Mīmāṁsakas, who put forward the theory of *anvitābhidhānavāda* or the view that 'it is only in a sentence that words can express to us any meanings and produce in us the knowledge of the mutual connection (*anvitābhidhāna*) among those meanings'.[2] Abhinavagupta includes *tātparyaśakti*,[3] as the second function followed by the third, *lakṣaṇāśakti* and thus accepts the amended interpretation of the Naiyāyika theory of *abhihitānvayavāda* only partially, yet rejects outright the Prābhākara view,[4] that *abhidhā* is constant and adequate for the purpose. Abhinavagupta again identifies the Mīmāṁsakas as the critics referred to by Ānandavardhana as questioning the propriety of adding a new function of 'suggestion' when *abhidhā*, alone, in their view, sufficed to convey the purport of the sentence.[5] He proceeds further to group together the Bhāṭṭa, Prābhākara and Vaiyākaraṇa schools in as much as they argued in common that 'word-meaning' (*padārthapratīti*) is the means to the knowledge of sentence-meaning' (*vākyārthapratīti*). The Bhāṭṭa view is stated to be concerned with the function of words in so far as they produce the import in the same way as firewood is used for cooking.[6] The Prābhākara, on the other hand, maintains that words, by virtue of their single function of abhidhā have the far-reaching power (*dīrghadīrgho vyāpāro*) of conveying various ideas in the manner of an arrow hitting so many objects far and near with one shot. The grammarians like the *sphoṭavādins* maintained that the apprehension of the meaning from words was something unreal (*apāramārthika*)[7], thus distinguishing themselves from the Prābhākaras who upheld that the sense was real. The *Locana* also refers to the Buddhists and Sāṁkhya philosophers[8] by way of comparing their views on the question, commenting on a reference made to those who do not hold that the sense so obtained is unreal. The *Dhvanyāloka* reverts to an examination of the Mīmāṁsā view that the relation of words to meaning is eternal and natural and argues that even on this premise they would have to assert an adventitious element (*aupādhiko dharmaḥ*) belonging to words and which is distinct from denotation if they were to explain the difference between human speech and revealed speech.[9] In this context, Abhinavagupta designates the

1 *Locana*, p. 55. 2 See *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 147–48.
3 *Locana*, pp. 62–63. 4 Ibid, p. 64. 5 See *Dhvl.* pp. 413–15.
6 *Locana*, p. 415. 7 *Locana*, p. 416. 8 Ibid. p. 420. 9 See *Dhvl.* p. 438.

particular Mīmāṁsā view as held by the followers of Jaiminī (*vākya-tattvavid*).[1] Abhinavagupta also identifies *kṛtrimaśabdārthasambandha-vādinaḥ* as the Naiyāyikas, Buddhists etc.[2] In the *Locana* distinctive names are used for the different schools, *vākyavid, padavid* for the Mimāṁsakas and the grammarians, *pramāṇatattvavid* for the Buddhists and Naiyāyikas.

Abhinavagupta also traces the references from Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya in discussing the significance of grammatical concepts like *śabda, nāda, dhvani* and *sphoṭa* in relation to their development in poetical theory. Regarding Ānandavardhan's statement '*śrūyamāneṣu varṇeṣu dhvaniriti vyvavaharanti*' Abhinavagupta glosses that "those letters (*varṇa*) expressed by sounds (*nāda*) on being heard and when manifesting (*vyañjaka*) the articulate noise (*sphoṭa*) grasped by the knowledge of the last letter (accompanied by the impressions of the series of sounds preceding it) are, indeed, called by the name 'dhvani'.[3] The phraseology and the terms used by Abhinavagupta in his explanation seem to be borrowed from the Nyāya-Vaiśesika system accompanied by authoritative citations from the *Vākyapadīya*.[4] The connection of the dhvani concept in its origin with the grammatico-philosophical schools is clearly brought out by him and the use of a significant analogy in the *Locana* shows how the idea may have been adapted as a literary criterion. Abhinavagupta uses the term *ghaṇṭānuraṇanarūpa*[5] 'in the nature of the vibration of a bell'– to describe the effect produced by letters and words. Appropriately enough, a variety of dhvani is actually called by the name *anusvānopamavyaṅgya* (the suggested sense having the form of a vibration or echo).

In our study of the *Locana* so far we have examined Abhinavagupta's role as a commentator and critic and observed that his able exposition of the theory has contributed in no small measure to the understanding of a difficult concept. It now remains for us to examine how far he renders a faithful interpretation of the theory. Some critics have argued that Abhinavagupta does not agree fully with Ānandavardhana in his interpretation of the rasa theory.[6] Prof. S. K. De maintains that Abhinavagupta emphasized the aspect of *rasa-dhvani*, in order to accommodate the new dhvani concept to the existing rasa theory, on which he had so authoritatively commented in the *Abhinavabhāratī*. It is clearly seen from Abhinavagupta's remarks that he laid

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1 *Locana*, p. 420. 2 Ibid. p. 444. 3 Ibid. p. 133.

4 See also Abbinavagupta's quotations from Bhartṛhari explaining the function of dhvani. *Locana*, p. 134.

5 See *Locana*, p. 133 and p. 235.

6 See Krishnamoorthy *Dhvl.* (Trans.) Notes pp. 157, where it is made out that a distinction exists between the views on rasa of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta.

greater stress on *rasadhvani* than on *alaṁkāradhvani* or *vastudhvani*. In selecting this term *rasadhvani* he seems to have thought of its historical connections apart from its value as a literary criterion for the rasa theory was well-known and easy of comprehension whereas the dhvani theory remained incomprehensible to many a critic. A concept seemingly alien to poetical and literary thought, yet appealing to critics by its novelty had been adapted to the theory as a philosophical and aesthetic concept and was in need of clear formulation. Besides, the function of meaning had to be defined afresh in view of the conflicting interpretations given by the schools of philosophy and logic. The *Dhvanyāloka* which presented the theory in broad outline and provoked criticism among later critics, was in need of a commentator who could show how the two concepts were integrated and could account for the aesthetic experience generally. It is Abhinavagupta's view that Ānandavardhana meant *rasa* to be equivalent to *rasadhvani*, since sensibility to words used in poetry is *rasa* or *rasadhvani*, the soul of poetry.[1] The use of the term *rasadhvani* by Abhinavagupta also gave him the opportunity to come to terms with critics like Bhaṭṭanāyaka, since the latter, by postulating *rasacarvaṇā*, tacitly recognised the same factor as *rasadhvani*.[2]

Abhinavagupta states in clear and unmistakable terms that there should be complete identity of the aesthetic experience between the hero or character (nāyaka), poet (kavi) and the reader or audience (śrotṛ)[3]. This is the central thesis Abhinavagupta puts forward in the interpretation of the rasa theory and in order to substantiate this further, he lays considerable emphasis on the harmonious agreement (*hṛdaya-saṁvāda*)[4] between the feelings and emotions of the poet on the one hand and the reader on the other. The next step in this process of apprecia-tion is one of 'sympathetic identification' (*varṇanīyatanmayībhavana-yogyatā*)[5] with the characters and situations described in literary works. It is then only that we can speak of an overflow of rasa in the poet's or reader's mind (rasaparipūrṇa), for which state Abhinavagupta uses the analogy of the pot overflowing with water,[6] recalling an apt observa-tion of Bhaṭṭanāyaka that 'he (the poet) does not bring out the rasa until he is full of it'.[7] He also attempts to explain the manner in which the series of emotions and feelings (*cittavṛttijāta*) experienced by the poet are inferred in others and by the operation of the latent impressions (*saṁskāras*) reach a state of attunement.[8] He also

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1 *Locana*, p. 51. 2 Ibid. p. 39 & p. 52.

3 This is actually stated to be the view of Bhaṭṭatauta, his teacher, with whom he concurs. See *Locana*, p. 92.

4 *Locana*, p. 85. 5 Ibid. p. 38.

6 *rasaparipūrṇakumbhoccalanavat*. *Locana*, p. 86.

7 Ibid. p. 87. 8 Ibid. pp. 89–90, p. 155–156.

emphatically states that the aesthetic experience is not in the nature of recollection brought about by the vibhāvas just as the recollection of fire wood arises from the knowledge of 'smoke' and that it is not something neutral (tāṭasthya), but a sensibility arising from the harmony of feelings produced in the heart. It does not also partake of the nature of inference (anumāna) on this account and, therefore, reaches a state of complete identification.[1] Therefore rasa is something revealed or brought out by a process of realisation.[2]

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1 *anumānasmaraṇādisaraṇimanāruhyaiva tanmayibhavanocitacarvaṇāprāṇa-tayā.* Ibid. p. 156.

2 *abhivyajyate rasāḥ pratītyaiva ca rasyanta iti.* Ibid. p. 235.

The Two Epics

By

P. V. Kane

The two great Epics of India, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, contain (particularly the first) numerous passages bearing on many topics of Dharmaśāstra and are relied upon as authorities in medieval and later works. The Mahābhārata itself claims (in Ādiparva, 2. 83) that Vyāsa composed the work as a great Dharmaśāstra, as Arthaśāstra (treatise on politics and Government), Mokṣaśāstra and also Kāmaśāstra.[1] In the last *parvan* it claims that whatever is said in it would be found elsewhere and what is not contained in it would not be found anywhere else i. e. it claims to be encyclopaedic and hence there was a great incentive to later scholars to add to it fresh matter. In the Udyogaparva (130. 18) and in Ādi. (62. 20) the Mahābhārata is spoken of as Jaya (jayo nāmetihāsoyam śrotavyo vijigīṣuṇā) and in the last *parvan* (5. 51) the epic is also called *saṁhitā* (1. 16 63. 90), Purāṇa (1. 17), ākhyāna (2. 388–389), itihāsa (1. 19 and 26 and 2. 36, 41 and 62. 18), itihāsottama (in 2. 385), Kāvya (1. 61 and 73, 2. 390), Kārṣṇaveda (1. 268 and 62. 18). It further states Ādi. (1. 52) that different beginnings of the epic existed. In the last *parvan* (Svargārohaṇa) it states that the epic is so called because of its greatness[2] (great extent) and the weightiness (of its contents) and that the epic is equal (in importance) to the 18 Purāṇas, all the Dharmaśāstras and the Vedas with their subsidiary lores (chap. 5. 45–46). Ādi (1. 81) states[3] that there are 8800 ślokas in the whole work, the import of which

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1 अर्थशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रमिदं महत् । कामशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं व्यासेनामितबुद्धिना ॥ आदि 2.83 and 62.23 ; आचख्युः कवयः केचित्संप्रत्याचक्षते परे । आख्यास्यन्ति तथैवान्ये इतिहासमिमं भुवि ॥ आदि 1. 26 ; धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ । यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न कुत्रचित् ॥ स्वर्गा० ; मन्वादि भारतं केचिदास्तीकादि तथापरे । तथोपरिचराद्यन्ये विप्राः सम्यगधीयते ॥ आदि 1. 52.

2 महत्त्वाद्भारवत्त्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते । निरुक्तमस्य यो वेद सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ अष्टादश पुराणानि धर्मशास्त्राणि सर्वशः । वेदाः साङ्गास्तथैकत्र भारतं चैकतः स्थितम् ॥ स्वर्गारोहण० 5. 45–46 ; the words महत्त्वा .... मुच्यते occur in आदि also (1. 274).

3 अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि अष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च । अहं वेद्मि शुको वेत्ति सञ्जयो वेत्ति वा न वा ॥ इदं शतसहस्रं तु श्लोकानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् । उपाख्यानैः सह ज्ञेयमाद्यं भारतमुत्तमम् ॥ चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रीं चक्रे भारतसंहिताम् ॥ उपाख्यानैर्विना तावद्भारतं प्रोच्यते बुधैः ॥ आदि 1. 81, 102–103.

only Vyāsa and Śuka know and Sañjaya might know or not.[1] It is further stated that Bhārata means the epic without the upākhyānas (tales) and contains 24000 verses and the work Mahābhārata consists of one hundred thousand verses inclusive of the upākhyānas Ādi. (1. 101–2). The Ādiparva (63. 89–90) states that Vyāsa[2] taught the four Vedas together with the Mahābhārata as the fifth to four pupils viz. Sumantu, Jaimini, Paila, Vaiśampāyana and to Śuka his own son and these five promulgated separate five versions of the story. The Śāntiparva (chap. 327. 26–33 and 349. 10–12) repeats the same story about the five pupils of Vyāsa. The extant Mahābhārata is supposed to be the one that Vaiśampāyana narrated to Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, the latter being the grand-son of Arjuna and son of Abhimanyu. It is said in Ādi (1. 9–10) that Sauti heard the story narrated to Janamejaya and told it to Śaunaka and other sages. Thus there are (acc. to the epic itself) three stages, viz. (1) Vyāsa first transmitted the epic to five pupils; (2) these five including Vaiśampāyana composed separate works and Vaiśampāyana narrated it to Janamejaya, and (3) Sauti who heard the recital by Vaiśampāyana narrated it to Śaunaka and others. Therefore, the author for the extant Mahābhārata is Sauti and Vyāsa is only connected with it mediately. In this respect it differs from the Rāmāyaṇa, the author of which is Vālmīki according to all. Janamejaya Pārikṣita is a famous name in Indian Antiquity. In the Ait. Br. (VIII. 21) it is stated that Tura Kāvaṣeya performed the Aindra Mahābhiṣeka for Janamejaya Pārikṣita, who conquered the whole earth and performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice and there is recited

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1 These 8800 verses are known as kūṭa (riddles). But the number 8800 is extremely exaggerated. If the figure were correct, it would mean that in the Mahābhārata one verse in twelve verses is a riddle. Vaidya in his work 'Mahābhārata, a criticism' gives 27 examples of Kūṭa verses in Appendix, Note III. pp. 190–193. One of these may be quoted here from the Udyogaparva; 'ekayā dve viniścitya trīn caturbhir vaśam kuru । pañca jitvā ṣaḍ-viditvā sapta hitvā sukhī bhava ॥ उद्योगपर्व 33. 44. Most of these seven have two meanings, one relating to Rājanīti, the other relating to 'adhyātma', briefly as follows: *ekayā*...buddhyā (by one's intellect): '*dve*' means kārya (what should be done) and 'akārya' (in Rājanīti) and 'nitya' (permanent) and 'anitya' (evanescent) (in adhyātma); *trīn* (three) viz. mitra (friend), udāsīna (neutral), śatru (enemy); or 'Kāma' (desires), Krodha (anger), Lobha (greed); *caturbhiḥ* (four) viz. sāma, dāna, bheda and daṇḍa (in Rājanīti) and śama, dama, uparama, śraddhā (in adhyātma); *pañca* (the five organs of sense, in both rājanīti and adhyātma); *ṣaḍ* (six) viz. sandhi and others enumerated in Manu VII. 160 and in Vedānta 'aśanāyā, pipāsā, śoka, moha, jarā, mṛtyu'; *sapta* (seven) viz. *vyasanas*–women, gambling, hunting, drinking, vākpāruṣya, daṇḍapāruṣya and arthadūṣaṇa (in Rāja°) and the five senses plus mind and buddhi in *adhyātma*. For the last, compare Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad VI. 30 (Yadā pañcāvatiṣṭhante jñānāni manasā saha । Buddhiśca na viceṣṭate tāmāhuḥ paramām gatim ॥).

2 वेदानध्यापयामास महाभारतपञ्चमान् । सुमन्तुं जैमिनिं पैलं शुकं चैव स्वमात्मजम् । प्रभुर्वरिष्ठो वरदो वैशम्पायनमेव च ॥ संहितास्तैः पृथक्त्वेन भारतस्य प्रकाशिताः । आदि 63. 89–90.

a Yajña-gāthā with regard to it.[1] He is mentioned also in the Śatapatha Br. (XIII. 5. 4. 1). What became of the other Saṁhitās said to have been composed by the other disciples of Vyāsa is not known.

In the daily *tarpaṇa* as prescribed in the Āśvalāyana gṛhya-sūtra[2] (III. 4) we find an echo of what we learn from the Ādiparva about the four pupils (excluding Śuka) of Vyāsa viz. Sumantu - Jaimini - Vaiśampāyana - Paila - Sūtra - bhāṣya-Bhārata-Mahābhārata-Dharmācāryas - tṛpyantu. Āśvalāyana was probably aware of the difference made between Bhārata and Mahābhārata. The Śāṅkhāyanagṛhya omits the words ' Bhārata......Dharmācāryāḥ '.

In the present edition (of the H. of Dh.) the Chitraśālā edition of the Mahābhārata with the commentary, Bhāratabhāvadīpa of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, has been used. It generally agrees with the Bombay oblong edition ; sometimes, however, there is a difference of one adhyāya or a śloka or two The Bhandarkar O. Institute's edition is not referred to, because when I collected my materials it had been only recently begun and even now it is not yet complete, though nearing completion.* But, as that edition gives in the margin of each page, references to the text of three editions of the epic, it is easy to find out a passage from the text of that edition also.

In the following table an attempt (not meant to be exhaustive) is made to indicate where Dharmaśāstra topics have been dealt with in the Mahābhārata at some length.

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1 The यज्ञगाथा is : आसन्दीवति धान्यादं रुक्मिणं हरितस्रजम् । अश्वं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजयः ॥ ऐ. ब्रा VIII. 7.

2 सुमन्तु-जैमिनि-वैशम्पायन-पैल-सूत्र-भाष्य-भारत-महाभारत - धर्माचार्याः (तृप्यन्तु) । आश्व. गृ. सू. III. 4. 4. The शाङ्खायनगृह्य omits भारतमहाभारतधर्माचार्या ; and adds after the word भाष्य ' गार्ग्य - बभ्रु-बाभ्रव्य-मण्डुमाण्डव्याः , गार्गी वाचक्नवी ' &c. ed. by Dr. S. Sehgal (1960).

* Since completed.

Abhiṣeka (coronation)—Śānti 40.
Arājaka (evils of anarchy) Śānti 67.
Ahiṁsā–Ādi. 11, Anuśāsana 115. 1 ff, Āśvamedhika, chap. 28 and 43, Śānti. 330.
Āśrama-dharmas–Śānti 61, 212-15.
Ācāra-Anuśāsana 104.
Āśvamedhika 45.
Āpad-dharma-Śānti 131 ff.
Upavāsa–Anuśāsana 106-107.
Tirthas–Vanaparva 82 ff, Anuśāsana 25-26, Śalya 35-54.
Dāna–Vanaparva 186, Śānti 234, Anuśāsana 57-99.
Daṇḍastuti–Śānti 15, 121.
Dāyabhāga–Anuśāsana 45-47.
Putras (of various kinds) Anuśāsana 48, 49.
Prāyaścitta–Śānti 34, 35, 165. 34 ff.
Bhakṣyābhakṣya–Śānti 36, 78.
Rājanīti–Sabhā 5, Vanaparva 150, Udyoga 33-34, Śānti 59–130, Āśrama-Vāsika 5–7.
Varṇadharma–Śānti 60, (mixed castes) Śānti 65, 297; Anuśāsana 48–49.
Vivāha–Anuśāsana 44–46.
Śrāddha–Strīparva 26–27, Anuśāsana 87–92.

Many difficult questions arise about the two epics (which have come down to us in different recensions), such as the origin and development of the two epics, the inter-relation of the two, the dates of the two epics; the strata, if any, in the two epics; the literature known to them, their versification; their influence on the early and later Dharmaśāstra works; their influence in comparatively early times on peoples beyond India. A great deal has been written on these topics by Western and Indian writers for over a century. Considerations of space make it impossible to enter upon the detailed discussion of the questions stated above. Yet a few remarks must be made on some of the topics discussed by scholars. The following works and papers will give some idea of the problems connected with these two heirlooms of Indian antiquity. "Zur Geschichte and Critik des Mahābhārata" by Holtzmann (Kiel, 1892–94); 'Das Rāmāyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt' by Dr. Jacobi (Bonn, 1893), 'The Great Epic of India' by Prof. E. W. Hopkins (1901); Das Mahābhārata &c. by Dahlmann (Berlin, 1895), 'Mahābhārata, a criticism' by C. V. Vaidya (1903); 'The riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa', by C. V. Vaidya (1906); 'Das Mahābhārata, seine Eustehung, Sein Inhalt, seine Form' by Oldenberg (Gottingen, 1922); M. Winternitz's 'History of Indian Literature' vol. I (Calcutta, 1927) pp. 475–517; Dr. V. S. Sukthankar published several Epic Studies in JBBRAS (New Series) Vol. IV, pp. 185–202, Vol. XI, pp. 165–191, 259-283, Vol. XVI, pp. 70-113, Vol. XVII, pp. 185-202, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1-76, Vol. XIX, pp. 20–262 and in Kane Festschrift pp. 472-487 on "Rāmopākhyāna and the Rāmāyaṇa," in which he details 86 verbal agreements between the two; Dr. V. S. Sukthankar's four lectures on 'The meaning of the Mahābhārata' (1942), three of which were

delivered and he passed away suddenly before the 4th could be delivered; this last is monograph No. 4 of the Bombay Asiatic Society; 'State and Government in ancient India' by Prof. A. S. Altekar (Benaras); 'History of Indian Political Ideas' by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal (1959); 'Political Theory of Ancient India' by I. W. Spellman (Oxford 1964); Rev. C. Bulcke's 'Rāmakathā, Utpatti aur Vikāsa,' Allahabad, 1950; and a paper on the 'Rāmāyaṇa, its history and character' in Poona Orientalist Vol. XXV pp. 36–60 and "Three Rāmāyaṇa Recensions" in J. O. R. (Madras) vol. 17 pp. 1–32.

It would not be proper to say nothing in this work about some of the vexed and important questions concerning the two epics, such as the approximate dates of the two, the inter-relation of the two and the question of the existence of different strata in them. These questions are inseparably intermixed and cannot be dealt with separately. Some points will first be brought out and briefly discussed and then the present author will state his own conclusions for whatever they may be worth. Winternitz (in History of Indian Literature Calcutta, 1927, p. 469) went so far as to say that 'each stanza of the Mahābhārata must be judged on its own merits' and Sukthankar remarks that this is so 'when we want to use the stanza for historical and comparative purposes' and he points out (on p. 475 of Kane Festschrift) that even a great scholar like Oldenberg commits abysmal mistakes in the estimate of the age and character of the passages of the Mahābhārata.

It is clear that the Mahābhārata had become, long before the 7th century A. D., a work for popular education and was being recited before general audiences of men and women in India as in the 19th century. For example, on p. 61 of Peterson's edition of the Kādambarī,[1] it is said that the queen Vilāsavatī learnt when the epic was being recited that the son saves his father from *Put* hell. Similarly, it is stated in the Kādambarī (p. 71) that the one thousand names of Nārāyaṇa used to be recited continuously. The Kādambarī (p. 90) refers to the famous Gītā declared by Kṛṣṇa, one of whose names is 'Ananta'. Going further backwards, we find in the famous Besnagara[2] Column Inscription (set out in JRAS for 1909 p. 1055) of the 2nd

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1 महाभारते वाच्यमाने श्रुतं पुन्नाम्नो नरकात्त्रायत इति पुत्र इति । कादम्बरी, p. 61 para 14. This is आदि 74. 39, Ādiparva 229. 14, and also मनु IX. 138, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 44; अविच्छिन्नपठ्यमाननारायणनामसहस्रम् । काद. p. 71 para 64. नारायणनामसहस्र occurs in अनुशासन chap. 149. 14–120; 'महाभारतमिवानन्तगीताकर्णनानन्दितनरम्'. There is *double entendre* here, Nara means Arjuna and also 'man' and अनन्तगीता means the famous book in the Epic (Bhīṣmaparva) and अनन्तगीत would mean 'many songs'.

2 In 'The Indo-Greeks' (Oxford, 1957) Dr. A. K. Narain provides a plate (VI), at the end of which he sets out the Heliodorus Inscription on the Besnagara Pillar in nine lines as follows (in Brāhmī characters):

(*Continued on the next page*)

century B. C. of Heliodorus, a devotee of Vāsudeva and a Yona (yavana) ambassador from the Greek king Antalikita to the court of king Bhāga-bhadra. The last portion in Prakrit words is 'dama, cāga, appamāda' (dama, tyāga and apramāda), which occur in Udyogaparva 43. 22 and Strīparva 7. 23.

It has been shown above that the Āśv. gṛ. sūtra, which represents the last phase of Vedic literature, includes the ācāryas of Bhārata, Mahābhārata and Dharma among the sages in the daily *tarpaṇa*. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa starts by saying that it has four doubts as to Bhārata (vide H. of Dh. Vol. V, p. 901 for the four questions and p. 903 for the date). The Mṛcchakaṭika (III. 12) refers to the Sauptikaparva (mārgo hyesa narendra-Sauptikavadhe pūrvam kṛto Drauṇinā). In several places where the Vedāntasūtra relies on Smṛti for support Śaṅkarācārya quotes only verses from the Mahābhārata.[1] For example, on V. S. II. 3. 47 (smaranti ca) he quotes only two verses of the Mahābhārata. Vide note below. This establishes that Śaṅkarācārya held that the Mahābhārata including the Śāntiparva (which modern critics regard as interpolated later) was earlier than the Vedāntasūtra. The present author has attempted to establish that when the Gītā (in 13.4) speaks of Brahmasūtrapadas it does not refer to the Brahmasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa but to several Brahmasūtras such as those of Bādari, Auḍulomi and Āśmarathya (vide H. of Dh. Vol. V. pp. 1173-74). Śabara in his *bhāṣya* on the Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra quotes passages from the present Mahābhārata text; vide a paper in Sukthankar volume pp. 221-229 by Prof. V. M. Apte and D. V. Garge.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

१ (दे)वदेवस वा (सुदे)वस गरुडध्वजे अयं
२ कारिते इ (अ) हेलिओडोरेण भाग-
३ वतेन दियस पुत्रेण तक्खासिलाकेन
४ योन-दतेन (आ) गतेन महाराजस
५ अंतलिकितस उपं ता सकासं रञो
६ (को) सिपु (त्र) स (भा) गभद्रस त्रातारस
७ वसेन च (तु) दसेन राजेन वधमानस
८ त्रिनि अमुतपदानि इअ (सु) अनुठितानि
९ नेयंति (स्वगं) दम चाग अप्रमाद.

Vide also JRAS 1909 pp. 1053-6 and 1087-92 and JBBRAS vol. 23 pp. 164-166 for prior attempts at reading this very important inscription. दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम् । तानि सत्यमुखान्याहुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ॥ उद्योगपर्व 43-22; दमस्त्यागोऽ-प्रमादश्च ते त्रयो ब्रह्मणो हयाः । स्त्रीपर्व 7. 23. Besnagar is about two miles to the north-west of Bhilsa in the Gwalior State.

1 (1) स्मरन्ति च । वे. सू. II. 3.47; शंकराचार्य remarks: स्मरन्ति च व्यासादयो यथा जैवेन दुःखेन न परमात्मा दुःखायत इति । तत्र यः परमात्मा...स सप्तदशकेनापि राशिना युज्यते पुनः ॥ These verses are Śānti 351. 14-16; no other smṛti passages are quoted by

(*Continued on the next page*)

Before proceeding further it must first be emphasized that the Mahābhārata claims to be *itihāsa* (history) as stated above, while the Rāmāyaṇa is a *kāvya* as expressly stated in the Rāmāyaṇa itself several times and as comparatively early and famous poets like Kālidāsa often say.[1] Therefore, it was possible for Vālmīki to give free rein to his imagination, while in the Mahābhārata some restraint had to be observed, since what was being put forward was dubbed *itihāsa*.

The words Gāthā and Śloka occur in the Ṛgveda. Gāthā (derived from the root 'gai' to sing) means a song or verse. Vide Ṛg. VIII. 32.1, VIII. 71.14, VIII. 98.9, X. 85.6 for gāthā. The word Śloka occurs more frequently in the Ṛgveda than the word gāthā and means a verse. In the Mahābhārata Gāthās sung by the Pitṛs (Anuśāsana, 88.11–14), by Yama (Anu. 45.17 and 104.72) or by Janaka (Śānti 17.18–20), by Kāśyapa (about Ksamā, Vanaparva 29.35-44), Gāthā about Paurava in Droṇa (57. 11) and about Bhagīratha (in Droṇa 60.8), of Yayāti (in Śānti 26.13 and in Droṇa 63.8-9), gāthās sung by Ambarīṣa and by Alarka (in Āśvamedhika 31. 12ff and 30. 30–31 respectively), by Bṛhaspati (Śānti 23. 14–15), by Brahman (Śānti 136, about king's treasury) gāthās sung by Uśanas on distrust (Śānti 138.192) and many more occur. Ślokas also are quoted with the words 'Ślokau cātra bhavataḥ' (Vanaparva 192.27–29) or 'bhavanti cātra ślokāḥ' as in Vanaparva (199.13-15); Ślokas by one who ponders over dharma, as in Sauptika (I. 53–55). Then many ślokas and gāthās are quoted as Ānuvaṁśa or simply as Anuvaṁśam (meaning genealogies handed down in families) e. g. Vanaparva 129. 8 says 'atrānuvaṁśam paṭhataḥ śruṇu me kurunandana' and then quotes two verses. For

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

him on this sūtra and also on the next sūtra quoted here. (2) अपि च संराधने प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम् । वे. सू. III. 2.24 ; शंकराचार्य explains 'प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम् श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यामित्यर्थः' and quotes a verse and a half ; the first occurs in Śānti 47. 54 and also in 284. 69 ; (3) स्मर्यते च । वे. सू. IV. 2. 14 शंकराचार्य explains: स्मर्यतेपि च महाभारते गत्युत्क्रान्त्योरभावः-सर्वभूतात्मभूतस्य सम्यग्भूतानि पश्यतः । देवा अपि मार्गे मुह्यन्त्यपदस्य पदैषिणः ॥ इति ... तथा च तत्रैवोपसंहृतम् । शुकस्तु मारुताच्छीघ्रां गतिं कृत्वान्तरिक्षगः । दर्शयित्वा प्रभावं स्वं सर्वभूतगतोऽभवत् ॥ इति । The verses are Śāntiparva 262. 32 (and also 269. 22 and 333. 19--20).

1 न ते वागनृता काव्ये काचिदत्र भविष्यति । तस्य बुद्धिरियं जाता वाल्मीकेर्भावितात्मनः । कृत्स्नं रामायणं काव्यमीदृशैः करवाण्यहम्...समाक्षरैः श्लोकशतैर्यशस्विनो यशस्करं काव्यमुदारधीर्मुनिः ॥ बालकाण्ड 2. 35, 41 ; आदिकाव्यमिदं त्वार्षं पुरा वाल्मीकिना कृतम् । युद्धकाण्ड 131. 107 ; कविः कुशलवावेव चकार किल नामतः । .. स्वकृतिं गापयामास कविप्रथमपद्धतिम् ।... कवेराद्यस्य शासनात् । रघुवंश 15. 32, 33, 41.

'Anuvaṁśam,' vide also Vanaparva 87.16–17 (*yatrānuvaṁśam bhagavān Jāmadagnyastathā jagau*). For Ānuvaṁśa ślokas, vide Ādiparva 95. 8 (for sons[1] of Devayānī and Śarmiṣṭhā).

For other Ānuvaṁśa Ślokas, vide Ādi. 95. 27, 95. 30–31, 95.46 (about Śantanu). In Vanaparva 88. 5 there is an ānuvaṁśya gāthā about Nṛga. Sometimes, even itihāsa is spoken of as sung i. e. recited (gīta). The word itihāsa is ancient. It occurs in the Atharvaveda,[2] in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XI. 1. 6. 9), in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads (III. 4. 2, VII. 2. 1 respectively).

The above brief statement is quite enough to show that before the Mahābhārata was composed there were numerous verses handed down in families and that the Mahābhārata utilizes and incorporates a large mass of ballads and bardic verses preserved in many prominent families. The Rāmāyaṇa, on the other hand, is a *Kāvya* and not an *itihāsa* and is confined to the life of Rāma, his brothers and their vicissitudes.

There is another quarter which sheds useful light on the epics. From Pāṇini's sūtras, the Vārtikas thereon and Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya we learn a good deal about some of the prominent personages of the Mahābhārata, their associates enemies and their doings.

There are in the Rāmāyaṇa hardly any Ānuvaṁśya Ślokas referring to Daśaratha or Rāma. According to the Sarvānukramaṇī Rāma, son of Jamadagni, is the seer of Ṛg. X. 110. Rāma appears to be the name of some person in Ṛgveda X. 93.14. Rāma Mārgaveya is the name of a person of the priestly family of Śyāparṇa in the Ait. Br. VII. 5. 1.

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1 The com. on Vanaparva 129. 8 says अनुवंशं परंपरागतमाख्यानश्लोकम्.

2 Two ślokas are interesting: अत्रानुवंशश्लोकौ भवतः । भस्त्रा माता पितुः पुत्रो येन जातः स एव सः ॥ भरस्व पुत्रं दुष्यन्त मावमंस्थाः शकुन्तलाम् ॥ रेतोधा पुत्र उन्नयति नरदेव यमक्षयात् । त्वं चास्य धाता गर्भस्य सत्यमाह शकुन्तला ॥ आदिपर्व 95. 30–31. Vide Udyogaparva 33. 103 अत्रैवोदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् । पुत्रार्थमसुरेन्द्रेण गीतं चैव सुधन्वना ॥; then twenty verses follow; तमितिहासः पुराणं च गाथाश्च नाराशंसीश्चानुव्यचलन्। अथर्ववेद XV. 6. 11; अरे अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद्यदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरसामितिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः बृहदा. उप. II 4. 10, IV 1. 2. IV. 5. 11; The महाभाष्य on Pāṇ. IV. 2. 60 and Vārtika 'आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च ठञ्वक्तव्यः' explains ऐतिहासिक (इतिहासमधीते वेत्ति वा इति ऐतिहासिकः).

In Pāṇ. IV. 3. 98 Vāsudevaka,[1] a devotee of Vāsudeva, and Arjunaka (a devotee of or one who likes Arjuna) are derived in the sense of 'bhakti' (IV. 3. 95). In VIII. 3. 95 ('gaviyudhibhyām[2] sthiraḥ) the name Yudhiṣṭhira, one of the principal personages in Mahābhārata, is mentioned. On Vārtika 7 (bhrātuśca jyāyasaḥ) on Pāṇ. II. 2. 34 ('alpāctaram') Patañjali states the example 'Yudhiṣṭhirārjunau', where the word Yudhiṣṭhira is put before Arjuna, though it has four vowels, because of his being the elder. In VI. 2. 38 Pāṇini provides for the accent (*svara*) of 'mahān' occurring in the compound Mahābhārata (along with nine other words). Vārtika 7 on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 85 provides for the name 'Aśvatthāmaḥ.' Kielhorn brings together (in I. A. vol. XIV pp. 326-27) all the verse quotations (of either whole verses or half verses or *pādas*) cited by Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya. On Pāṇ. IV. 1. 97 (sudhātur-akañ ca) the first Vārtika is 'Sudhātṛ-vyāsayoḥ' and we get 'Vaiyāsakiḥ' (as son of Vyāsa) i. e. Śuka and Mahābhāṣya on it says 'Vaiyāsakiḥ Śukaḥ'). Some of the verses or their parts are very important and interesting about the heroes of the Mahābhārata. On Vārtika 22 on Pāṇ. II. 2. 24 we have two quotations, viz. 'asidvitīyosnusasāra Pāṇḍavam' (he, armed only with a sword, followed the Pāṇḍu hero) and 'Saṅkarṣaṇa-dvitīyasya balam Kṛṣṇasya vardhatām' (in this both Kṛṣṇa and his brother Saṅkarṣaṇa are mentioned). The first quotation (on II. 2. 24) clearly shows that it must have been taken from some work dealing with Pāṇḍava heroes. Another interesting quotation is 'Dhanañjayo raṇe raṇe' on Vārtika 3 on Pāṇ. III. 3. 58. It is well-known that Arjuna was called Dhanañjaya (vide Bhagavadgītā X. 37 'Pāṇḍavānām Dhanañjayaḥ').

On Vārtika 11 on Pāṇ. IV. 2. 104 Patañjali cites the words 'Akrūra-vargyaḥ' and 'Akrūravargīṇaḥ' as well as Vāsudeva-vargyaḥ and Vāsudevavargīṇaḥ. This reminds one of the dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Nārada reported in Śāntiparva, chap. 81. It

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1 भक्तिः। वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन्। पा. IV. 3. 95 and 98; भज्यते सेव्यते इति भक्तिः। सि. कौ. The Mahābhāṣya explains that Vāsudeva is not merely the name of a Kṣatriya but that it is a designation of the Divine.

2 गवि-युधिभ्यां स्थिरः। पा. VIII. 3. 95 (examples गविष्ठिरः युधिष्ठिरः). The word 'Bhakti' in the sense of worship occurs in श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद् VI. 23. The word भक्तिः relates back to सोऽस्य निवासः (पा. IV. 3.89) and also reaches forward. Therefore 'bhakti' in 'Pāṇini' has a wider sense than *mere* worship; it also means 'resort', 'liking' as in 'Āpupika' (apūpā bhaktir-asya), the sense of object of worship is not excluded from the word 'bhakti' in Pāṇini, but that word is larger in meaning than 'worship' in Pāṇini. Therefore, in IV. 3. 95 (Vāsudevārjunābhyām vun) it is quite correct to take 'Vāsudevaka' as meaning worshipper of Vāsudeva, while Arjunaka may mean 'one who has a liking for Arjuna or who worships Arjuna'.

appears from that chapter that there was jealousy among the Yādavas.[1] Akrūra and Āhuka were two chiefs among the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis (verse 8) and Kṛṣṇa was the President of that Saṅgha and that Nārada advises Kṛṣṇa that a *saṅgha* comes to grief from internal dissensions (verse 25) and that Kṛṣṇa should act in such a way as not to lead to the destruction of the Saṅgha. Pāṇ. (IV. 1. 114) knew the Andhaka-vṛṣṇis and Kurus and Patañjali on Vārtika 7 cites and explains the words Augrasenya (from Ugrasena of the Andhaka clan), Vāsudeva and Bāladeva (among Vṛṣṇis) and Nākula, Sāhadeva and Bhaimasenya (among the Kuru clan) from Nakula, Sahadeva and Bhīmasena respectively. Vide also Pāṇ. VI. 2. 34 ' Rājanyabahuvacana-dvandvesn-dhakavṛṣṇiṣu ', which refers to several rājanyas among Andhakavṛṣṇis.

From the above brief references in Pāṇini and Patañjali one may affirm that the central story of the Mahābhārata is certainly older by centuries than the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. Reference has been made to the fact that there is a Rāmopākhyāna in Vanaparva (chap. 273-292 containing about 750 verses). It does not completely agree with the present Rāmāyaṇa text. In this Kumbhakarṇa is said to have been killed by Rāma (Yuddha. 67. 180-181), while in the Rāmopākhyāna it is Lakṣmaṇa who does so (Vanaparva 287. 18-19). Besides, in the Śāntiparva (chap. 29) there is a brief reference to Rāma's rule for 11000 years and the ideal happiness of the people under his rule. In the Droṇaparva also Rāma is briefly referred to in the Ṣoḍaśa-rājakīya section (chap. 55-71, that relating to Rāma being chap. 59). Stray references to a few other incidents of the Rāma story may be made here. For example, Rāma being led to pursue the gold-coloured deer ; the Śāntiparva refers briefly to the story of Śambūka. The Śalyaparva mentions that Rāma cut off the head of a *rākṣasa* and the Śānti refers to the killing of Rāvaṇa by Rāma through anger (361. 15).[2]

Hopkins refers to certain passages where Vālmīki is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and divides them into two classes. In the first class he puts certain references to Vālmīki as meant for a mere saint

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1 Ādi. 2. 21. 29 shows that Akrūra was a Senāpati of the Vṛṣṇis and was called 'dānapati'. Kṛṣṇa says in Śānti 81. 9-10 ' यस्य न स्युर्न वै स स्याद्यस्य स्युः कृत्स्नमेव तत् । द्वाभ्यां निवारितो नित्यं वृणोम्येकतरं न च ॥ स्यातां यस्याहुकाक्रूरौ किं नु दुःखतरं ततः । यस्यापि च न तौ स्यातां किं नु दुःखतरं ततः ॥ '. The com. makes this clear : द्वयोर्महिषयोरिव युध्यतोर्वा रणे मध्यस्थस्य मम महद्दुःखं तथा द्वयोः सुहृदोस्त्यागेपि इत्याह स्यातामिति. Verse 11 is apt : सोहं कितवमातेव द्वयोरपि महामते । एकस्य जयमाशंसे द्वितीयस्यापराजयम्.

2 असम्भवे हेममयस्य जन्तोस्तथापि रामो लुलुभे मृगाय ॥ सभा. 76. 5 ; श्रूयते शम्बुके शूद्रे हते ब्राह्मणदारकः । जीवितो धर्ममासाद्य रामात्सत्यपराक्रमात् ॥ शान्ति 153. 67 ; पुरा वै दण्डकारण्ये राघवेण महात्मना । ... जनस्थाने शिरश्छिन्नं राक्षसस्य दुरात्मनः ॥ शल्य 39. 9-10.

(a ṛṣi), as in Sabhā 7. 16, Vanaparva 85. 119, Udyoga 93. 27, Śānti 207. 4 (along with Asita, Devala and many others). In my opinion Anuśāsana 13.8 (where. Vālmīki is styled *bhagavān*) belongs to this first category. Then Hopkins mentions 'four passages as referring directly to the Rāmāyaṇa' (vide 'The great Epic of India' pp. 61 ff).

Before proceeding to examine these four passages relied upon by Hopkins a few words must be said about the present text of the Mahābhārata. There are three elements in it, viz. the bare story of the Pāṇḍava brothers and their cousins (usually referred to as Kauravas), the upākhyānas (abounding in the Vanaparva and scattered about in other *parvans* also) concerning gods, sages, brāhmaṇas, kings and others and didactic matter insisting on doing one's duties and the role of *dharma* as in Udyoga 148. 16 'yato dharmastato jayaḥ' and in Kuntī's last message to Yudhiṣṭhira in Āśramavāsikaparva 17.21 'Dharme te dhīytām budhir-manastu mahad-astu ca' and philosophy (Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Vedānta). There was, therefore, great scope at all times for adding stories and didactic matters. Thus the Mahābhārata became very much inflated by additions made at different times. Anyone could add a story by saying 'atrāpyudāharantīmam itihāsam purātanam'. In the Anuśāsanaparvan alone in 25 chapters stories are introduced with these words, apart from several stories introduced in a different manner. Chap. 98 of that parvan is remarkable. There Bhīṣma introduces (in the words 'atrāpyudāharanti') the story of a dialogue between Manu Prajāpati and one Suvarṇa who asks how the practice of the worship of deities with flowers originated and what the rewards of such worship are. Then Manu cites the story (again with the words 'atrāpyu' etc.) of the dialogue between Śukra and Bali Vairocana. Two examples may be cited about Rāma story being interpolated by devotees and enthusiasts. In chap. 74 of the Anuśāsana, apart from the evil results of the killing of a cow, the merit issuing from the gifts of cows or gold is praised and the chapter is wound up (verses 11–14) by Bhīṣma who says that he learnt all this from his Upādhyāya to whom it came from the sages, to whom Lakṣmaṇa imparted the story in the forest which Rāma had heard from his father Daśaratha who learnt it from Indra. Another similar example occurs in chap. 137 of the same *parvan*, which names numerous great men of the past that achieved highest worlds by making gifts of various kinds, among whom Rāma (in verse 14), son of Daśaratha, is mentioned as having reached inexhaustible worlds by offerings in *yajñas*.

Not only were tales interpolated but there are several repetitions in the Mahābhārata. A few examples may be noted. There is in Śānti (chap. 227) an enlarged version of the brief dialogue between Indra and Bali in chap. 223 ; chap. 175 (dialogue between father and son) is practically the same as chap. 277. Śalya 38. 39–45 are the same

as Vanaparva 83. 116–121. The Ṣoḍaśarājakīya occurs twice, once in the Droṇaparva (chap. 55–71) and again in the Śāntiparva chap. 29. The story of Āstīka occurs twice, in Ādi 13 ff and in chap. 48 ff again.

The literature known to the Mahābhārata furnishes some data for making a statement about the probable date of the extant text of the epic. But as the present text is very much inflated owing to additions made at different times, it would be impossible to assign definite dates, and references to Vedas and Brāhmaṇa works need not be cited. The six Aṅgas are mentioned in Ādi. 170. 75. In Śānti 342. 38 the Nāighaṇṭuka-padas are mentioned and the word Vṛṣa therein. The Nirukta of Yāska and its explanation of the word 'śipiviṣṭa' (which occurs in Ṛg. VII. 100. 6–7) is mentioned in the Śāntiparva.[1] The Nirukta (V. 8) gives the explanation of the word provided by Aupamanyava which is derogatory (to Viṣṇu), while Yāska appears to prefer a laudatory sense and applies the word to Viṣṇu (as Sūrya), meaning 'in which rays enter on all sides)'. The Śānti (310. 21–22) mentions that Bṛhaspati knew (composed ?) the Vedāṅgas, Bhārgava Nītiśāstra (politics), Nārada music (Gāndharva), Bhāradvāja archery, Gārgya the doings of *Devarṣis*, Kṛṣṇātreya medicine, and some disputants (composed) several *siddhāntas* based on logic (such as Tārkika, Vaiśeṣika and Kāpila). It will be stated in the section on Manusmṛti how hundreds of verses are common to the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti. In the Anuśāsana we have (in 47. 35) mention of the Śāstra declared by Manu. Itihāsa and Purāṇa are called the fifth Veda as early as the Chāndogya Up. VII. 1. 2–4 and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa requires that in the Pāriplava some Purāṇa and Itihāsa passages were to be recited on the 8th and 9th days respectively. Therefore, the numerous references to Purāṇa in the Great Epic are not here set out. It is important to note that a Purāṇa declared by Vāyu is mentioned in Vanaparva (191. 16). The Svargārohaṇaparva (5. 46–47) states that there are 18 Purāṇas composed by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana.

Upavedas are mentioned in Droṇaparva 202. 75. Dhanurveda is mentioned in Śānti 49. 32, 50. 233 and 167. 31.

The word 'Dharmaśāstreṣu' occurs frequently as shown above (vide pp. 13, 300–1). Individual writers on Dharmaśāstra (apart from Manu) are also quoted e. g. Yama in Śānti 82. 31, Aṅgiras (two verses) in Śānti 69. 71–73 ; Uśanas on slaying an ātatāyin[2] (a desperado like an incendiary or a poisoner) may be killed outright in self-defence.

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1 स्तुत्वा मां शिपिविष्टेति यास्क ऋषिरुदारधीः । मत्प्रसादादधो नष्टं निरुक्तमभिजग्मिवान् ॥ शान्ति 342-73.

2 श्लोकौ चोशनसा गीतौ पुरा तात महर्षिणा । ... उद्यम्य शस्त्रमायान्तमपि वेदान्तगं रणे ॥ निगृह्णीयात्स्वधर्मेण धर्मापेक्षी नराधिपः । ... न तेन धर्महा स स्यान्मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति ॥ शान्ति 56. 28–30. Compare मनुस्मृति 8. 348–351 (where in verse 351 we have the words मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति '.

In Anuśāsana 18. 38 Garga is said to have obtained the knowledge of the sixty-four *Kalās* (arts) and in Śalya-parva 37. 145 Garga is said to have gained on the banks of Sarasvatī knowledge of kāla and about the movements of heavenly bodies. Astronomer Garga is assigned to 50 B. C. by Kern (vide Preface to Bṛhat-saṁhitā p. 50) and H. of Dh. Vol. V pp. 79 and 592 n 878.

It appears that by the time the Mahābhārata assumed its present form Buddhist and Jain ideas had acquired influence among the people. For example, the Vanaparva[1] (181.42-43) says 'truthfulness, self-restraint, *tapas*, charity, ahiṁsā, constant adherence to dharma, these are the means (of higher life) among men, not caste nor family.' Śāntiparva says (188. 10) 'there is no difference among the (four) varṇas; this world is Brāhma (belongs to Brahmā), because it was formerly created by Brahmā and was (later) reduced to different varṇas by their (diverse) actions'. The Śāntiparva announces 'Truthfulness, charity, freedom from hatred and wickedness, humility, kindness and *tapas*,-where these are seen, he is known as brāhmaṇa. If these characteristics are found in a śūdra and these do not exist in a twice-born person then the Śūdra is not a śūdra and the so-called brāhmaṇa is not a brāhmaṇa. This approaches the teaching of the Dhammapada verses 383, 393 (yamhi satyam ca dhammo ca so sukhī so ca brāhmaṇaḥ). Similiarly, in Anuśāsana 115 Yudhiṣṭhira asked Bhīṣma 'you have often declared that *ahiṁsā* is the highest dharma and you also said that in śrāddhas the pitṛs desire to have flesh offered'. Buddhist vihāras (Vana° 188. 56) had come into existence and Eḍūkas (structures over the bones of the dead) are mentioned in Vanaparva (90. 65, 67). A naked Kṣapaṇaka (Digambara Jain) is mentioned in Ādi 3. 126 ; in Śānti 232. 21[2] the Jain position seems to have been alluded to and also in Āśvamedhika 49. 2. In Ādiparva 70. 46 it is stated that in Kaṇva's hermitage there were leaders of Lokāyatika views along with students of Vedas and Mokṣadharma.

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1 सत्यं दमस्तपो दानमहिंसा धर्मनित्यता । साधकानि सदा पुंसां न जातिर्न कुलं नृप ॥ वनपर्व 181. 42-43 ; न विशेषोस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्मामिदं जगत् । ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतम् ॥ शान्ति॰ 188. 10; सत्यं दानमथाद्रोह आनृशंस्यं त्रपा घृणा । तपश्च दृश्यते यत्र स ब्राह्मण इति स्मृतः ।... शूद्रे चैतद्भवेल्लक्ष्मं (क्ष्म ?) द्विजे तच्च न दृश्यते । न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः ॥ शान्ति 189. 4 and 8; Compare Vanaparva 180. 21, 216. 14-15; उद्योगपर्व 43.49 (य एव सत्यान्नापैति स ज्ञेयो ब्राह्मणस्त्वया) ; अनुशासन 143. 48-49 (कर्मभिः शुचिभिर्देवि शुद्धात्मा विजितेन्द्रियः । शूद्रोऽपि द्विजवत्सेव्य इति ब्रह्माब्रवीत्स्वयम् ॥).

2 एतमेव च नैवं च चोभे नानुभे न च । कर्मस्था विषयं ब्रूयुः सत्त्वस्थाः समदर्शिनः । शान्ति 232. 21 ; ऊर्ध्वं देहाद्वदन्त्येके नैतदस्तीति चापरे । केचित्संशयितं सर्वं निःसंशयमथापरे ॥ आश्वमे॰ 49. 2.

On Pāṇ. III. 2. 111 the Mahābhāṣya cites 'jaghāna Kaṁsaṃ kila Vāsudevaḥ' (on Vārtika 2 'parokte ca lokavijñāte prayoktur-darśana-viṣaye') and on Vārtikas 6 and 15 the Mahābhāṣya makes very interesting remarks about Kaṁsavadha (the killing of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa) described in stories, drawn in paintings and represented in dramas; vide Vol. V. p. 130 notes 329–30 and p. 203 note 521. The Mahābhāṣya asks the question how one can use the present tense (in Kaṁsaṃ ghātayati) when Kaṁsa was killed in antiquity.[1] That shows that centuries before the Mahābhāṣya) works (stories and dramas) had been composed on the killing of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa. That some verses quoted by the Mahābhāṣya are found in the Mahābhārata is shown in the note below.[2]

The date of the Mahābhāṣya is generally accepted to be about 150 B. C.; vide (pp. 75–79 above). It quotes a quarter of a verse stating that some person followed the Pāṇḍava hero with only a sword in his hand and Pāṇini knows the central figures of the great Epic viz. Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna. It has been shown above (p. 75) that Pāṇini flourished about 450 to 400 B. C. Therefore, it follows that there were poems about Pāṇḍava heroes and about Kṛṣṇa killing Kaṁsa some time before 400 B. C. Scholars would have to assign 500 B. C. as the latest date for the core of the Mahābhārata.

Another circumstance pointing to the same conclusion is that the Āśv. Gṛ. mentions "Bhārata-Mahābhārata-dharmācāryāḥ'. The Gṛhya-sūtras belong to the latest phase of the Vedic literature. The mention of Bhārata and Mahābhārata as preceding the Āśv. Gṛ. would make it very probable that the Mahābhārata was in existence at least just before the end of the Vedic period.

One warning already given by Winternitz in 'History of Indian Literature' (Calcutta, 1927 p. 469) and accepted by the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar (in 'Epic Studies' VIII in Kane Festschrift p. 474) with an addition is that 'when we want to use a stanza for historical and comparative purposes each such stanza must be judged on its own

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1 On Vārtika 6 on Pāṇ. III. 1.26 the examples are: कंसवधमाचष्टे कंसं घातयति बलिबन्धमाचष्टे बलिं बन्धयति. Then on Vārtika 15 on the same sūtra the Mahābhāṣya has 'इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता कंसं घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति चिरहते कंसे चिरबद्धे च बलौ।; then Patañjali justifies it in the words 'अत्रापि युक्ता' etc.

2 On Pāṇ III. 3. 167 (Kielhorn vol. II. p. 167) we have the half verse कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः; this occurs in स्त्रीपर्व 2.24; on Pāṇ. V. 1.115 the Mahābhāṣya remarks 'सर्वे एते शब्दा गुणसमुदायेषु वर्तन्ते ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यः शूद्र इति। अतश्च गुणसमुदाय एवं ह्याह' and quotes a verse; तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्च एतद् ब्राह्मणकारकम्। तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः॥'. The अनुशासनपर्व 121.7 has 'तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चाप्येतद् ब्राह्मण्यकारणम्। त्रिभिर्गुणैः समुदितस्ततो भवति वै द्विजः॥

merits'. But life being short, this would be an almost impossible task for one scholar for the one hundred thousand stanzas of the Mahābhārata.

But if we turn to the Rāmāyaṇa, none of the great personages depicted in that epic such as Daśaratha, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata (Rāma's brother), Hanūmat, Sugrīva Bibhīṣaṇa is mentioned by Pāṇini or in quotations cited in the Mahābhāṣya. Those who want to argue that the present Rāmāyaṇa was known to Patañjali rely on a few matters, such as the reference to Kiṣkindhā and two verses[1] about *Vānarasainya* in the Mahābhāṣya. These two verses do not occur in the Rāmāyaṇa at all; besides, here 'Vānarasainya' does not necessarily mean an 'army of monkeys'; it may playfully be applied to a crowd or number of monkeys; and moreover such verses illustrating the use of the same root in the *Parasmaipada* and *Ātmanepada* might have been composed by a teacher of grammar for the benefit of his pupils. As there is a parody of Daśaratha, Rāma and Sītā in the Daśarathajātaka, it is probable that some decades before 250 B. C. there existed a popular story about these three. Some further remarks will be made in the section on Rāmāyaṇa.

The first of the four passages relied upon by Hopkins is 'api cāyam purā gītaḥ śloko Vālmīkinā bhuvi । na hantavyāḥ striya iti yad–bravīṣi plavaṅgama ... Pīḍākaram amitrāṇām yat–syāt kartavyam eva tat' (Droṇaparva 14. 67–68).[2] The criticisms against this citation are several. One is that what is quoted is not a Śloka at all, but only a pāda (quarter) at the most; secondly, the Śloka in the Rāmāyaṇa does not amount to an absolute rule, but there is a counterpoise in the latter half of the *śloka*; another criticism is that the Mahābhārata itself had already stated in the Ādiparva and Vanaparva the same rule against killing a woman. So it is probable that some interpolator

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1 किष्किन्धा is described as the capital (in Kiṣkindhā–kāṇḍa chap. 25.5) and also a cave (same chapter verse 10 and elsewhere). In modern days it is said to be a village on the north bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā near Hampī in Bellary District (Madras State).

Two verses on Vārtika 1 (उपाद्देवपूजासङ्गतकरणयोः) on Pāṇ. I. 3. 25 (उपान्मन्त्रकरणे) are (Kielhorn's ed. vol. I p. 281): बह्वूनामप्यचित्तानामेको भवति चित्तवान् । पश्य वानरसैन्येऽस्मिन् यदर्कमुपतिष्ठते ॥ मैवं मंस्थाः सचित्तोयमेषोपि हि यथा वयम् । एतदप्यस्य कापेयं यदर्कमुपतिष्ठति ॥ These illustrate the rule that 'Sthā' with 'upa' takes Ātmanepada when it means 'to worship' but if there is no question of worship but there is an action natural to some one it takes only Parasmaipada.

2 न हन्तव्याः स्त्रियश्चेति यद्ब्रवीषि प्लवंगम । पीडाकरममित्राणां यच्च कर्तव्यमेव तत् ॥ युद्धकाण्ड 81. 29–30; compare अवध्यां स्त्रियमित्याहुर्धर्माधर्मविनिश्चये । आदि 158. 31; अवध्याः स्त्रियः सृष्टा मन्यन्ते धर्मचारिणः । आदि 217. 4; vide also वनपर्व 206. 46.

mentioned it in the Droṇaparva to show off his knowledge of the other epic. As regards the 2nd citation I am sorry to say that Hopkins is carried away by his enthusiasm to prove direct quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa in the other epic. In the Rāmāyaṇa, the verse 'rājānam prathamam vindet' does not occur[1] at all. Hopkins is obliged to say that it agrees closely enough in sense and words with the verse in Ayodhyā 67.11. The verse from Ayodhyā is not *ipsissima verba.* There is another gratuitous assumption made by him. He thinks that Bhārgava is Vālmīki. Bhārgava means Uśanas. Vide Amarakośa[2] quoted below. Hopkins, in spite of his learning and industry, here forgets that the Śāntiparva (210. 20) ascribes a Nītiśāstra to Bhārgava and mong the expounders of Rājaśāstra[3] the Śāntiparva mentions Kāvya (i.e. Uśanas) and Bhārgava[4] as identical. Vālmīki's name has nowhere been mentioned as that of an expounder of Rājaśāstra. The Rāmāyaṇa itself regards Uśanas (Śukra) and Bhārgava as identical when it describes the auspicious appearances on Rāma's invasion of Rāvaṇa's capital (Yuddha 4. 49). Vide above under Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra where passages form the Mahābhārata on the Rājaśāstra of Uśanas have been quoted. Hopkins misunderstands the verse. What it means is: the life of Rāma was recited to some king by a court poet or possibly by Bhārgava Uśanas himself, the expounder of Rājaśāstra, who thereon recited the famous verse 'rājānam prathamam vindet &c,' because the underlying idea of that expounder was 'no king, no dharma nor security'. It is quite possible that both (i. e. Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa) quote from a common source viz. the Rājaśāstra of Kāvya Uśanas which once existed but has not yet been recovered.

The third passage occurs in the Vanaparva, where Bhīma is said to have met Hanūmat on the Gandhamādana but did not recognize him and took him to be a mere ordinary monkey (chapters 146 ff). There he speaks of Hanūmat as his brother and very famous[5] in the Rāmāyaṇa

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1 आख्याते रामचरिते नृपतिं प्रति भारत ॥ राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत्ततो भार्यां ततो धनम् । राजन्यसति लोकस्य कुतो भार्या कुतो धनम् ॥ शान्ति 57. 40–41 ; अयोध्याकाण्ड 67. 11 is 'अराजके धनं नास्ति नास्ति भार्याप्यराजके । इदमत्याहितं चान्यत्कुतः सत्यमराजके ॥' ; राज्येऽसति कुतो धर्मो धर्मेऽसति कुतः परम् । शान्ति० 320. 59.

2 शुक्रो दैत्यगुरुः काव्य उशना भार्गवः कविः । अमरकोश.

3 भार्गवो नीतिशास्त्रं तु जगाद जगतो हितम् । शान्तिपर्व 210. 20. एतत्ते राजधर्माणां नवनीतं युधिष्ठिर । बृहस्पतिर्हि भगवान्नान्यं धर्मं प्रशंसति । विशालाक्षश्च भगवान्काव्यश्चैव महातपाः । . . . राजशास्त्रप्रणेतारो ब्रह्मण्या ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ शान्ति० 58. 1–3.

4 उशना च प्रसन्नार्चिरनु त्वां भार्गवो गतः । युद्धकाण्ड 4. 49 (48 in some editions).

5 भ्राता मम गुणश्लाघ्यो बुद्धिसत्त्वबलान्वितः । रामायणेऽतिविख्यातः श्रीमान्वानरपुङ्गवः ॥ वनपर्व 147. 11.

(147. 11). Vālmīki's name is not mentioned in those chapters and this story was probably interpolated later. The Vanaparva is in extent next to the Śāntiparva. These two and the Anuśāsanaparva cover about two-fifths of the whole of the extant Mahābhārata. The 4th passage (quoted in the note below)[1] on which Hopkins relies, occurs in the last chapter of the Harivaṁśa (which is a *khila*) and not at all in the text of the Mahābhārata in the Chitrashala edition and others.

The above discussion shows that out of the four passages relied upon by Hopkins one is wrongly interpreted, two are not in the Mahābhārata at all and the remaining one is probably interpolated.

The most puzzling question concerning the Mahābhārata is how the members of a polyandrous family became the heroes of the great national epic. Even in the extant epic attempts are made to explain the matter in a supernatural way. In the Āśramavāsikaparva it is stated that after the carnage in the great war, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Vidura, Kuntī (the mother of five Pāṇḍavas), Gāndhārī, Draupadī, Subhadrā met together and sages like Vyāsa, Nārada, Parvata and others also came, when Dhṛtarāṣṭra complained that he had no sleep and no peace of mind and Gāndhārī requested Vyāsa to vouchsafe to Dhṛtarāṣṭra the sight of his fallen sons. Kuntī told Vyāsa (Āśramavāsikaparva chap. 30) how Durvāsas (an irate sage) came to her father (a king) for alms when she was yet a maiden and as she pleased the sage by her assiduous hospitality, he gave her five mantras on repeating any one of which the god addressed in that mantra would come to her. She proceeded to say that when she saw from her father's palace the rising sun, she called him to come by reciting the appropriate mantra ; the sun came and she duly requested him to grant her a son, when the Sun's refulgence entered her and she secretly gave birth to a son (later) called Karṇa, whom she let down in a river. She wanted to see that son whom she abandoned. Then Vyāsa consoled her that she was not to be blamed, that deities enter human bodies, that human limitations do not apply to deities and he recited a verse that everything is pure and wholesome to the strong.[2]

In the Ādiparva (chap. 169) a similar story is repeated almost in the same words that a maiden requested God Śaṅkara five times to bestow on her a husband and so he blessed her that she would have five

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1 वेदे रामायणे पुण्ये भारते भरतर्षभ । आदौ चान्ते च मध्ये च हरिः सर्वत्र गीयते ॥ हरिवंश 132. 95 (भविष्यपर्व).

2 सर्वं बलवतां पथ्यं सर्वं बलवतां शुचि । सर्वं बलवतां धर्मः सर्वं बलवतां स्वकम् ॥ आश्रमवासिक 30. 24.

husbands (*pati*) and she became later Draupadī, daughter of king Drupada. Ādiparva (197. 35–36 and 44 ff) states the same kind of story, but it is Lakṣmī (in Svarga) who asks five times for a husband.

In Ādiparva the question how a polyandrous marriage was allowed in the case of the five Pāṇḍava heroes has been raised and dealt with in chapter 195, verses 27–31. Drupada (father of Draupadī) urges that five brothers should have one wife is *adharma*, it is opposed to the Veda and the usages of the people. The reply of Yudhiṣṭhira is : 'Dharma is subtle ; we only follow the path of our predecessors. I never told a lie nor am I bent on adharma. But my mother says that we five should have the same woman as wife.'[1] If one may speculate on the origin of the Pāṇḍavas, it is possible that they hailed from the hilly regions in the Himālayas where polyandry prevailed up to recent times, that they were formidable warriors and made their way in the countries of Kuru and Pañcāla and married a Pāñcāla princess. The descendants of the Pāṇḍava heroes viz. Parikṣit and Janamejaya are well-known in the Vedic age. The Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 5 and Ait. Br. 35. 1 mention Pārikṣita Janamejaya as a performer of Aśvamedha. Daśaratha, Rāma and their descendants are not spoken of in these ancient works.

In Anuśāsana (115. 68–75) about fifty ancient kings are named that gave up flesh-eating in Kaumuda (Kārtika) month and therefore they went to heaven. These passages of the great epic would have to be assigned at the most to a century or two before the Christian era.

The Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā 109.34) contains a down-right condemnation of Buddha[2] as nāstika (atheist) and as a thief and in chap. 108 of the same epic Jābāli is introduced as an atheist who condemns in the presence of Rāma the finer virtues of respect for parents and other relatives, the institution of Śrāddha, condemns those who talk of the other world and asks Rāma not to leave the kingdom in favour of Bharata.

The two epics have in common many striking verses. For example, in the story of the Kapota bird and the *lubdhaka* (hunter) where the Kapota burnt itself in order to offer food to the hungry hunter and the female bird, on the death of the male bird, entered fire and killed herself,

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1 सूक्ष्मो धर्मो महाराज नास्य विद्मो वयं गतिम् । पूर्वेषामानुपूर्व्येण यातं वर्त्मानुयामहे ॥ न मे वागनृतं प्राह नाधर्मे धीयते मतिः एवं । चैव वदत्यम्बा मम चैतन्मनोगतम् । एष धर्मो ध्रुवो राजंश्चरैनमविचारयन् । आदि 195. 29–31.

2 यथा हि चोरः स तथा हि बुद्धस्तथागतं नास्तिकमत्र विद्धि । तथाहि यः शक्यतरः प्रजानां न नास्तिकेनाभिमुखो बुधः स्यात् । अयोध्या 109. 34.

a fine verse is put in the mouth of the female bird in Śāntiparva 148 6–7.[1] In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa 39. 30–31 Sītā repeats the same verse before Kausalyā when she prepares to go into exile with Rāma. Another famous verse of the propriety of punishing even a *guru* when he becomes conceited, fails to distinguish between what ought to be done or not to be done and who pursues the wrong path[2] occurs in both. The Śāntiparva (in 57.6) says that in former times king Marutta recited an ancient śloka in Bṛhaspati's treatise in the section on kings (Rājādhikāra) and that it is 57.7. Another verse that occurs in both epics is : all collections end in dissolution, all tall things end in falling down, unions end in separation, life ends in death.[3]

The discussions so far held make this clear that the main characters of the Mahābhārata were known long before Pāṇini and that tales relating to Pāṇḍava heroes had been embodied in a work or in works in verse long before Patañjali wrote i. e. that the core of the Māhābhārata existed before 500 B. C. The same cannot be said about the Rāmāyaṇa. There is no evidence to show that the principal characters of the Rāmāyaṇa were known to Pāṇini or even to Patañjali. At the most one can say that the three names, Daśaratha, Rāma and Sītā, were probably known about 250-200 B. C. but not described as endowed with the qualities they bear in the extant Rāmāyaṇa. Therefore, one may conclude that there was a Bhārata epic long before there was a Rāma epic. From the way in which the Vānaras led by Aṅgada (Kiṣkindhā 41. 6ff) among whom were included such doughty fighters as Hanūmat, Nīla, Jāmbavat, were directed to go from Kiṣkindhā towards the south in search of Sītā carried away to Laṅkā by Rāvaṇa, one feels that the author did not correctly know the different countries that the Vānaras would have had to traverse before reaching Laṅkā. Sugrīva is said to have told them to go from Kiṣkindhā to the south and one is surprised

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1 मितं ददाति हि पिता मितं भ्राता मितं सुतः । अमितस्य हि दातारं भर्तारं का न पूजयेत् ॥ शान्ति 148. 6–7, अयोध्या० 39. 30–31 (in this latter the Madras ed. reads माता for भ्राता). It is noteworthy that the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 86 refers to this Kapotikākhyāna, quotes verses 10 and 12 of Śānti 148 and remarks that in the guise of this story Vyāsa recommends 'anvārohaṇa' (burning oneself on the deceased husband's funeral pyre) as most meritorious. I am inclined to hold that it is the author of the Rāmāyaṇa that probably borrows. Rāma was only going to a forest (no question of dying arose) and so the words are not so appropriate in the Rāmāyaṇa as they are in the Mahābhārata.

2 गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः । उत्पथं प्रतिपन्नस्य दण्डो भवति शाश्वतः ॥ शान्ति 57. 7; also in शान्ति 140. 48 (reads शासनम् for शाश्वतः); उद्योगपर्व 178. 48 reads last pāda as परित्यागो विधीयते; कार्यं भवति शासनम् । अयोध्या 21. 13.

3 सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः । संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं च जीवितम् ॥ शान्ति 27. 31, 330. 20, स्त्रीपर्व II. 3; अयोध्या 105. 16.

to read that Sugrīva first mentions the Vindhya mountain with its thousand peaks and immediately afterwards Narmadā (chap. 41.8) and then mentions Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇaveṇī, Varadā (41.9), Mekala, Utkala, Daśārṇa towns, Avantī (41.10), Vidarbha, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga (41.11). It is unnecessary to cite more. The present writer is constrained to hold that whoever wrote that chapter was an inhabitant of a place north of the Narmadā (which springs from Mekala)[1] and knew only the names of towns, rivers and countries without knowing their exact location. The author had probably never been to the island of Ceylon, nor knew anything about the distance between India and Ceylon nor had he any idea about the extent of Ceylon. It was all a poetic fancy without any solid basis of known facts, even ancient. Kiṣkindhā is now shown to be a village on the Tuṅgabhadrā river in the Bellary District. We know from the Araṇyakāṇḍa (chap. 13) that Agastya directed Rāma to have a hut in Pañcavaṭī near Godāvarī and from that place he later went to Ṛṣyamūka near Pampā where dwelt Sugrīva with four others (Araṇya. 72.11–12).[2]

It has been shown above that the Rāma story and characters are mentioned in the extant Mahābhārata and the legends and some well-known characters in the Mahābhārata are noted in the extant Rāmāyaṇa. Therefore, all that one can say is that both works have influenced

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1 Vide Amarakośa which says ‘रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका’.

2 Several scholars have written about the location of Laṅkā. Mr. M. V. Kibe locates Laṅkā in central India (vide ABORI Vol. XVIIpp. 371–384; F. W. Thomas presentation Vol. pp. 144–5; J. C. Ghosh in ABORI vol. XIX pp. 84–86); Daniel John in ABORI vol. XXI pp. 270–279 (who holds that Mr. Kibe is wrong and that Laṅkā must be some island in the midst of the sea off the southern or south-eastern coast of the present island of Ceylon. Mr. G. K. Ramdas holds that ‘ Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā ’ was near Amarakaṇṭaka (vids I. H. Q. vol. IV pp. 338–346). In A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XIX at p. 86 it is pointed out that a portion of Orissa was known as Laṅkā. Shri M. S. Aney in his paper ‘ The Rāmāyaṇa tradition in the present day Ceylon ’ in the Proceedings of the A. I. O. Conference at Darbhanga (1948), pp. 206–218 tries to show that Laṅkā is the present Ceylon and supports his view by referring to the Sundarakāṇḍa, Mahāvaṁśa, Rājāvali and some similar works. I regret that his arguments are far from convincing. In the Sundarakāṇḍa Laṅkā is not an island but is described as the capital of Rāvaṇa situated beyond the sea on the slopes of Trikūṭa and surrounded by a wall as the verses quoted below testify. The Mahābhārata mentions Siṁhala and Laṅkā separately (Vanaparva 51. 23 *Siṁhalān Barbarān mlecchān ye ca Laṅkānivāsinaḥ*). The Dīpavaṁśa is the earliest chronicle (about Ceylon) and it is not earlier than the 4th century A. D. and the Mahāvaṁśa is much later (6th century or later). They are not reliable authorities for events that are supposed to have happened several centuries before Christ.

स सागरमनाधृष्यमतिक्रम्य महाबलः । त्रिकूटस्य तटे लङ्कां स्थितः स्वस्थो ददर्श ह ॥ ... समासाद्य च लक्ष्मीवाँल्लङ्कां रावणपालिताम् । परिखाभिः सपद्माभिः सोत्पलाभिरलंकृताम् । सुन्दरकाण्ड 2. 7–8; तां समीक्ष्य पुरीं लङ्कां राक्षसाधिपतेः शुभाम् । सुन्दर॰ 3. 13.

each other. But as the core of the Mahābhārata is much older than that of the Rāmāyaṇa and as the Mahābhārata is four times as bulky as the Rāmāyaṇa, it is the latter that most probably borrowed several matters from the great Epic. It has been demonstrated above that the so-called four direct references in the Mahābhārata to the Rāmāyaṇa put forward by Hopkins are not so and that only one remains, which appears to me to be a later interpolation.

Just as the story of Nala-Damayantī was set out in the Mahābhārata from a tale current in early days, so the Rāma story might have been only a popular tale in the beginning and was later turned into an epic, but the Mahābhārata, if it had directly borrowed from the Rāmāyaṇa, would not have differed from the epic on such an important matter as the killer of Kumbhakarṇa. Therefore, it is very probable that the Rāma tale was included in the Vanaparva at a time when the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form did not exist. The present writer holds that the Mahābhārata assumed its present form certainly before the Christian era, but how much earlier it is difficult to say.

Hopkins[1] devotes pp. 386–403 of his work 'The Great Epic of India' to the date of the Epic and summarises his conclusions on pp. 397-398. On p. 398 he says there is no date of the Epic which will cover all its parts (though handbook makers may safely assign it in general to the 2nd century B. C.). A sizable volume would be required to criticize his remarks on several matters and to expose the hollowness of his hasty and one-sided conclusions. To take only one example at random. He relies (p. 387) on the occurrence of the word Dīnāra in the Harivaṁśa which is only a supplement to the Mahābhārata and on the fact that in the present text of the Epic (Ādiparva chap. 2.82–83) reference is made to the Harivaṁśa as a *Khila*, in which are included the deeds of Viṣṇu such as killing Kaṁsa and the Bhaviṣyaparva, which is a large and wonderful one among Khilas [2] The Dīnāra is not mentioned in the 18 parvans of the Mahābhārata (not even in Śāntiparva nor in Anuśāsanaparva) as Hopkins admits on p. 387. Supposing for a moment

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1 Hopkins in 'Great Epic of India' pp. 403–445 (Appendix A) sets out 337 cases of parallel phrases in the two Epics. Vide also JOR (Madras) vol. XI pp. 22–26 on the same topic.

2 महाप्रस्थानिकं पर्व स्वर्गारोहणिकं ततः ॥ हरिवंशस्ततः पर्व पुराणं खिलसंज्ञितम् । विष्णुपर्व शिशोश्चर्या विष्णोः कंसवधस्तथा ॥ भविष्यपर्व चाप्युक्तं खिलेष्वेवाद्भुतं महत् । एतत्पर्वशतं पूर्णं व्यासेनोक्तं महात्मना ॥ आदि 2. 81–83. The commentator explains the word 'Khila' as follows; शाखान्तरस्थं शाखान्तरे यदपेक्षावशात्पठ्यते तत्खिलमिति वैदिकी प्रसिद्धिः। यथा बह्वृचानां श्रीसूक्तमेधासूक्तादीनां संहिताकाले पाठो दृश्यते । एवमस्मिन्नितिहासे यत्पुराणान्तरस्थमाकांक्षावशात्पठ्यते तत्खिलं हरिवंशाख्यमित्याह। ... अत एवास्य खिलस्य पुराणमिति विशेषणम् । तथाहि अत्र विष्णुचर्या विष्णुपुराणोक्ता साकल्येन दृश्यते। एवं भविष्यपुराणकथा च।

that the mention of dīnāra in Harivaṁśa is not interpolated, still from the reference to Harivaṁśa in Ādi I. 2 in general it does not necessarily follow that the writer of Ādi. 2 had before him a Harivaṁśa containing the word Dīnāra. Besides, his dating about the Introduction of Dīnāras in India is not supported by satisfactory evidence. He states (on p. 387) " for the Roman *denarius* is known to the Harivaṁśa and the Harivaṁśa is known to the first part of the first book and the last book ; hence such parts of this book as recognize the Harivaṁśa must be later than the Introduction of Roman coins into the country (100-200 A. D.) '. He does not mention the evidence on which he bases his conclusion about the exact period of the Introduction of the Denarius in India. For the date of early Denarius coins, vide Pro. of British Academy', Vol. XVIII for 1932 pp. 211-266.[1]

The Romakas are mentioned in Sabhāparva 51.17. One remarkable matter is as follows. The Āpastamba Dh. S. II. 5. 11.5-6 are 'Rājñaḥ panthā brāhmaṇenāsametya' and 'sametya tu brāhmaṇasyaiva panthaḥ'. These two sūtras form the second half of the verse in Vanaparva 133.1 (the first half being 'Andhasya panthāḥ ... bhāravāhasya panthāḥ &c).

Vyāsa or the Mahābhārata has been mentioned in some early inscriptions.

For example, the Pardi plates of Dahra-sena of *Saṁvat* 207 (probably of the Kalacuri or Chedi era i. e. of 456 A. D.) ascribes the verse 'ṣaṣṭiṁ varṣasahasrāṇi' &c. (in E. I. Vol. X. p. 53) to Vyāsa. Gupta Ins. No. 31 at p. 137 (the Khoh copper-plate of Mahārāja Śarvanātha dated in 204 of the Gupta era i.e. 533 A. D.) says 'uktam ca Mahābhārate Vyāsena'.[2] This inscription establishes that long before 530 A. D. the Great Epic was deemed to have one hundred thousand verses composed by Vyāsa. It has been already shown how in Bāṇa's day the Epic was recited to an audience of men and

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1 That paper shows that formerly it was believed that the Denarius was introducted in 269 B. C. But on a fresh appraisalit is stated (on p. 214) that we may regard 190 B. C. as a close approximation to the true date. On. p. 254 it is shown that the first issue of the paper denarius was in 187 B. C. In plate III accompanying the vol. No. 32 is a denarius of 42 B. C. and No. 33 of 99, 94 B. C. Hence Dinarius could have been introduced in India in 150 B. C.

2 On p. 137 (Gupta Inscription No. 31) the Inscription ends with the words 'उक्तं च महाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां परमर्षिणा पराशरसुतेन वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन। पूर्वदत्तां द्विजाति ... पालनम् ॥ प्रायेण हि ... वसुन्धरास् ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा ... तदा फलम् ॥षष्टिवर्षस ... नरके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा ... मज्जति ॥ अपानीयेष्वरण्येषु ... दायं हरन्ति ये ॥ Vide the list of imprecatory verses from inscriptions set out in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 1271-77. The above five verses are respectively Nos. 6, 13 (reade नाशुभा), 1, 2, 4 and the last is not in that list. Vide under Manusmṛti about these verses being sometimes attributed to Manu and the criticism of Hopkin's views thereon.

women. Several hundred verses are common to both the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata. Commentators of Dharmaśāstra works from early times quote the Mahābhārata. Medhātithi on Manu II. 94 quotes one of Yayāti's verses about Kāma (desire) being insatiable. On Manu XI.93 he quotes 'Ubhau Madhvāsavakṣībau' (Udyoga 59.5); on IX.64 he quotes Śānti 63.13[1] that the Śūdra is entitled to three āśramas but not to that of *parivrājaka*. On Manu VII. 177 he quotes the well-known verse 'na kaścit kasyacit' (quoted above). The Mit. quotes the Mahā bhārata or Vyāsa frequently (e. g. on Yāj. I. 72, 86, 256, III. 6, 250, 258, 300). Aparārka quotes from the Mahābhārata dozens of verses, but the quotations from Vyāsa include many verses on Vyavahāra attributed to Vyāsa which do not occur in the Mahābhārata. The Kṛtyakalpataru sparingly quotes the Mahābhārata. It is unnecessary to refer to other and later digests on the question of the date and text of the Mahābhārata.

When ancient Indians came to Java they brought with them their sacred books. The Mahābhārata soon became most popular among the Javanese. Portions of the Mahābhārata were rendered into old Javanese or Kavi poetry. This work is known as Brata Yuda (modern Javanese) i.e. Bhārata Yuddha. The Kalasan Inscription of the *Śaka* year 700 (778 A. D.) found in a temple in central Java is the earliest Javanese Inscription written in a North Indian script. It was published by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in JBBRAS. Vol. VII part 2 from a photograph copy sent to him from Batavia. It opens with a salutation to Tārā, Buddhist goddess. The temple was constructed by the Rājaguru (king's chaplain) of a king of the Śailendra dynasty. It contains twelve verses one of which is quoted below.[2] Sardar K. M. Panikkar's paper on 'Maṇipravāla in Java' in 'Kunhan Raja Presentation volume pp. 65–69 shows how from the 12th century A. D. onwards poems were composed in Java in the local *kavi* language, employed different Sanskrit metres and took over stories from the Sanskrit kāvyas of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and the episodes in the Mahābhārata and adopted Sanskrit theories of rhetoric and alaṁkāras (figures of speech). Several European scholars have worked on this subject. Vide for example, Louis Finot's

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1 'न पृथिव्यां व्रीहियवं हिरण्यं पशवः स्त्रियः । नालमेकस्य तत्सर्वमिति मत्वा शमं व्रजेत् ॥. The Ch. ed. reads this as 'पृथिवीरत्नसंम्पूर्णा हिरण्यं . . व्रजेत्' (आदि 75. 51); आश्रमा विहिताः सर्वे वर्जयित्वा निरामिषम् । शान्ति 63. 13.

2 सर्वानेवागामिनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते राजसिंहः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नराणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ It is the same as No. 10 on p. 1273 of the H. of Dh. vol. II, with this difference that the order of the two halves is reversed and that the words underlined are differently read is this ins., namely राजसिंहः for रामचन्द्रः, नराणां for नृपाणां and सर्वानेवागा ... न्द्रान् for सर्वानेतान् भाविनो भूमिपालान्.

learned paper in I. H. Q. vol. I pp. 599–622 (on the geography and chronology of Indian civilization in Indo-China') in which he gives the names of several Dutch and French scholars (as his predecessors in the same field). He remarks ' India has laid her mark on all the great Eastern countries some of which received a substantial part of their religious and artistic culture from India and others are indebted to her for their very existence as civilized states. ' For ' Śrīvijaya ', vide ' La Royamme de Śrīvijaya' by G. Coedes mentioned by Finot's paper (p. 619) and Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in ' Bulletin of the l'ecole de Extreme Orient ', Tome XV fasc. 2 pp. 239 ff (Hanoi).

The commentary called Bhāratabhāvadīpa of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara (son of Govinda) on the Mahābhārata (printed in the Ch. ed.) is a learned one. In the opening verses at the beginning of Ādiparva he praises one Lakṣmaṇārya, then two ancestors of his viz. Nārāyaṇa and Dhīreśa who are again named with reverence in Sabhā 1.1 as *Hamīrapurya* (i.e. residing in Hamirapur). At the beginning of Udyogaparva he calls himself Lakṣmaṇapadānuga (following in the footsteps of Lakṣmaṇa); again on Vanaparva 129. 9 he states that followers of Lakṣmaṇa who was the ornament of a family of persons well-versed in knowledge of *brahman* explains that verse differently. At the beginning of Bhīṣmaparva, chap. 25 (i.e. the Bhagavadgītā) he performs an obeisance to Śrīdhara and others as ' sadgurūn '. This Śrīdhara is, it appears, the commentator of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. On Vana-p. 133. 24 he quotes Mādhava on the five kinds of years (Cāndra, Saura etc.), who is most probably Mādhavācārya, who wrote Kālamādhava. He states that he collected Mss. of the Epic from different parts of India. He quotes Medinīkośa frequently (e.g. on Ādi.47. 11, 140.12, 214.2, Vanaparva 236.10), Yādava on Vana° 260.3, Viśvakośa on Udyoga 40.16 and quotes Viśvalocana on the meaning of ' Cakradhara ' in Anuśāsana 162.38, and on the meaning of ' granthikāḥ ' in Āśvamedhika 70.7. He refers to the commentary called ' Viṣamaślokavyākhyā ' on Vanaparva 82.38 as reading a certain verse there but states it was omitted by later ignorant expositors. On Virāṭaparva 2.9 he mentions the meaning of ' ārālika ' given by the author of the com. Viṣamaślokī. He mentions Arjunamiśra's explanation of ' Jārūthyān ' in Vanaparva 284.23; on Ādi 170.15 he notes that Devabodha and others read it differently and on the word ' madhuparkikāḥ ' in Droṇaparva 182. 2. he gives Devabodha's explanation. On Vanaparva 263.8 he refers to Śaṅkarācārya's commentary on Viṣṇusahasranāma and on Udyoga 42.1 he refers to the commentary of Bhāṣyakāra on Sanatsujātīya ; he refers to the Saṅkṣepaśārīraka on Udyoga 43.42; On Bhīṣmaparva 3.13 and 31 he quotes a work called Narapativijaya on astrology ; on Śānti 306.8 he mentions a work on Yoga called Yogacintāmaṇi and Bhoja's work on Poetics dealing with 24 guṇas of Śabda (on Śānti 320.87). He quotes

a verse of Dattātreya on Khecarī Mudrā (on Āśvamedhika 19.37). In many places he discusses various readings as on Ādi 214.2, Sabhā 16.3 (Gauḍapāṭha) and 21.16 (Gauḍapāṭha), Vanaparva 239.4 (Gauḍapāṭha), discusses three readings on Vanaparva 264.12. On Sabhā 61.9 (where the word 'Ṣaṣṭiviśāradāḥ' occurs) he refers to Śrīdharasvāmi's[1] com. on Bhāgavatapurāṇa and also on Sabhā° 41.1. He appears to have written a work called 'Vedānta-kataka' and refers to what he says therein on 'Daharādhikaraṇa' (i.e. Brahmasūtra I. 3. 14–21). At the end of the Śāntiparva and of Anuśāsana° he enumerates[2] the several teachers (eight in all) under whom he learnt Vedānta, Mahābhāṣya, Veda with its subsidiary lores, logic, Śrauta &c.

He mentions Niruktabhāṣya on Vanaparva 291.70 and also Vedabhāṣya (i.e. Sāyaṇabhāṣya) on Jarūtha (occurring in Ṛg. VII. 1.7 and X. 80.3). He appears to have been a Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇa. On Udyoga 143.25 he explains 'ekapakṣākṣicaraṇāḥ' as 'pāṅkoli' (a bird) in Mahārāṣṭrabhāṣā; on Ādiparva 63.20 he explains 'piṭakaiḥ' as 'peṭyā iti bhāṣāyām' which is Marathi 'peṭī' or 'peṭyā'. He refers to the custom of raising a bamboo staff at the end of a year and the beginning of a new one (in Ādi. 63. 18–19) as seen in Mahārāṣṭra and other places. On Sabhā 21.20 he explains the word 'Śṛṅga' as 'Manurā', which is 'Manorā' in present Marathi; on Śānti 87.35 he explains 'gominaḥ' as 'cāraṇas' which is a Marathi word. On Vana° 93.27 he explains ' 'Kaṭhinānām as 'Kāṭhi iti Mahārāṣṭraprasiddhaḥ'. Though a Mahārāṣṭrian he knew Yavanabhāṣā as on Sabhā 4.2 he explains that 'Jīvantī' is called 'viriji' in Yavanabhāṣā.

As he refers to the Medinīkośa and the Kālamādhava he is certainly later than the 14th century A.D. In 'Indian Culture' vol. I pp. 706–710 it is stated that Arjunamiśra, a Vārendra brāhmaṇa who flourished in the latter part of the 13th century is a better commentator than Nīlakaṇṭha. Vimalabodha wrote a commentary on the Mahābhārata called

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1 चतुःषष्टिषु कलासु विशारदाः । कलानामानि तु श्रीमद्भागवतदशमस्कन्धटीकायां श्रीधरस्वामिभिर्दर्शितानि ; । on सभा 61. 9; अत एव श्रीमद्भागवतेपि हरिनिन्दाग्रन्थः स्तुतिपरत्वेनैव व्याख्यातः श्रीधरस्वामिभिः । on सभा 41. 1.

2 वेदान्ते लक्ष्मणार्यं क्रतुविधिविवृतौ तीर्थ-नारायणार्यं तर्के धीरेशमिश्रान् फणिपतिभणितौ पोलगङ्गाधरार्यम् । वेदं साङ्गं पितृव्यं शिवमथ पितरं दक्षिणामूर्त्युपास्तौ श्रौते चिन्तामणिं यः शरणमुपगतो भूम्नि गोपालदेवम् ॥ (at end of शान्तिपर्व); गोपालं भूम्नि वेदे शिवमुपनिषदि ब्रह्मविल्लक्ष्मणार्यं तर्के धीरेशमिश्रान् फणिपतिभणितौ पोलगङ्गाधरार्यम् । भाट्टे नारायणं यो गुरुमकृत ततं दक्षिणामूर्त्युपास्तौ श्रौते चिन्तामणिं च व्यभजत स महाभारते दानधर्मान् ॥. ततं appears to have been used for reasons of metre instead of the usual word तातं. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad Naciketas asks his father 'तत कस्मै मां दास्यसि' (I. 4) and in the Ṛg. IX. 112. 3 (कारुरहं ततो भिषगुपलप्रक्षिणी नना).

Vimalaślokī or Durghaṭārthaprakāśinī, a ms. of which is in possession of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute (Poona). Vide Gode's paper in Silver Jubilee Vol. of the BORI pp. 146 ff. Vide Dr. Raghavan's paper in Kane Festschrift (pp. 351–355) for some commentators of the Mahābhārata such as Varada, Yajñanārāyaṇa and Ānandapūrṇa (about 1350 A. D.), parts of whose commentaries are found in mss. collections.

The extant Mahābhārata professes that it is removed from the Mahābhārata war only by two generations or so. It was narrated by Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya who was the great-grandson of Arjuna. The topics regarding the beginning of the Kaliyuga and the astronomical data in the Mahābhārata have been discussed at some length in the 3rd volume of the H. of Dh. pp. 896–923.

The probable date of the Mahābhārata war has been discussed by the present author in H. of Dh. Vol. III pp. 895–923 and Vol. V. p. 849. There are three dates put forward from comparatively early times, viz. 3101 B. C. (the traditional date); (2) that of the Bṛhat-saṁhitā and Rājataraṅgiṇī (viz. about 653 of Kali age); (3) that of the Vāyu, Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa and Bhāgavata purāṇas which provide that between the birth of Parīkṣit (grandson of Arjuna, the outstanding fighter among the Pāṇḍavas) and the coronation of Nanda there is a period of 1500 (or 1050 or 1015 years, according to various readings in the mss of those Purāṇas). Almost all modern scholars discard the idea that the Mahābhārata was composed a short time after the war. Similarly, the matters in the Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* containing over twenty thousand verses are stated to have been declared by Bhīṣma, who was mortally wounded but lay on death-bed till the sun turned northwards. This was a very helpful camouflage to insert into the Epic any matter deemed worthy of being put in. In the Parva-saṁgrahaparva (Ādi. 2.325–331) it is stated that in the Śāntiparva there are 329 *adhyāyas* (chapters) and 14732 verses and in Ādi. 2.331–338 it is stated that in the Anuśāsanaparva there are 146 *adhyāyas* and 8000 verses. In the Chitrashala edition there are 365 chapters in the Śāntiparva and 168 in the Anuśāsanaparva. Thus the chapters in the two parvans (in the present text) exceed the number of chapters stated in Ādiparva, chap. 2. It is possible that later redactors arranged the chapters differently for various reasons. In the Śāntiparva the longest *adhyāya* (138) has 221 verses, then comes chap. 284 with 208 verses. On the other hand the shortest chap. of Śāntiparva is 363 (of six verses only), chapters 353 and 365 have only nine verses each, while some chapters (such as 129, 136, 304, 352) have only eleven verses. A few chapters like 192, 338, 342 have a few verses and also long prose passages. I have calculated the verses in the Śāntiparva and they come to about 13200 or so in the Chitrashala edition, but if one takes into

account the prose passages (and calculates them as versified with 32 letters in each verse), then there would not be much divergence in the number of ślokas. Vide C. V. Vaidya's 'Mahābhārata: a criticism', Appendix, note one, for the total of chapters and ślokas in the 18 parvans and the khila Harivaṁśa stated in the Parvasaṁgrahaparva and in the Bombay edition. They are respectively 96836 and 95826 ślokas. Therefore, the reputed extent of the Mahābhārata even in early inscriptions (the Khoh plate of 533 A. D.) viz. one hundred thousand is only approximate; vide Dr. Sukhtankar's paper in ABORI, Silver Jubilee Volume, (1943) pp. 549-558 for remarks on the figures mentioned in the Parvasaṁgrahaparva.

The Mahābhārata not only repeats tales but also single verses of its own e.g. Śānti, chap, 231.31 repeats Gītā 8.17 (sahasrayuga°), chap. 251.9 is the same as Gītā (II.70, āpūryamāṇam), chap. 312.14 (sarvataḥ pāṇi°) is same as Gītā 13.13; Vanaparva 189.27 (yadā yadā ca dharmasya) is the same as Gītā IV. 7.

In the two epics genealogies of ancient kings occur frequently and it is impossible to reconcile all of them. A few simple examples may be cited. The Manusmṛti (in I.) claims that Brahmā first (I.32) created Virāj who created him (Manu) and he (Manu) created (I.35) the great sages (Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulaha, Pulastya, Kratu, Pracetas Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu and Nārada) and they created the seven Manus (I.36) and the world was created by them. If we turn to the Mahābhārata, the Anuśāsana (chap. 2.5 ff) tells us that Manu Prajāpati's son was Ikṣvāku, who had one hundred sons of whom Daśāśva was the 10th. But the Vanaparva (in chap. 201-202) speaks of Ikṣvāku, his son Śaśāda (who ruled in Ayodhyā), his son Kakustha, his son Anenas, whose son was Pṛthu-whose son was Viśvagaśva, whose son was Adri whose son was Yuvanāśva and so on. In the Āśvamedhikaparva (chap. 4) the genealogy is (in Kṛtayuga) Manu-son Prasandhi-son Kṣupa-son Ikṣvāku (chap. 4.3-14). If we now turn to the Rāmāyaṇa, chap. 110 of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa furnishes a long pedigree (in verses 5-34) as follows: Brahmā-Marīci-Kaśyapa-Vivasvat-Manu Vaivasvata Prajāpati-Ikṣvāku (the first king of Ayodhyā)-Kukṣi-Vikukṣi-Bāṇa-Anaraṇya-Pṛthu-Triśaṅku-Dhundumāra-Yuvanāśva-Māndhātṛ-Susandhi-Dhruvasandhi-Bharata-Asita-Sāgara-Asamañja-Aṁśumān-Dilīpa-Bhagīratha-Kakustha-Raghu-Pravṛddha-Kalmāṣapāda-Śaṅkhana-Sudarśana-Agnivarṇa-Śīghraga-Maru-Praśuśruva-Ambarīṣa-Nahuṣa-Nābhāga-Aja-Daśaratha-Rāma. This pedigree contradicts the one in Manusmṛti (I.34-35) set out a little above, where Marīci is one of the ten sons of Manu. Let us now turn to the Raghuvaṁśa, where (in I.11-12) it is stated that Vaivasvata Manu was the first king, that among his descendants was king Dilīpa, whose son was Raghu whose son was Aja whose son was Daśaratha. It should be noted

that in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa two kings intervene between Dilīpa and Raghu and between Raghu and Aja ten kings are named. Hence it follows that the Ayodhyākāṇḍa pedigree is either an inflated one or that Kālidāsa had a different pedigree before him at least from Dilīpa downwards or that Kālidāsa was not aware of the longer pedigree. From the Raghuvaṁśa itself it appears that Kālidāsa knew the story of Sagara as an ancestor of Rāma and the story of his Aśvamedha horse being carried to the bottom of the earth and the digging of the earth for finding it and the ocean being filled with the waters of Ganges (Raghu. XIII. 31); he also knew the story of Bhagīratha taking the Ganges from the matted hair of Śiva (Raghu IV.32) to the earth and of Kakustha being a descendant of Ikṣvāku (Raghu VI. 71). It is not unlikely that a very long pedigree was manufactured for the glory of the family of Rāma and Kālidāsa was not prepared to accept it in its entirety. It may be noted that *Bāṇa* in the Harṣacarita (6th ucchvāsa p. 38 of my edition) holds that Raghu was the son of Dilīpa.

Both the epics inspired many later writers to compose Sanskrit dramas based on the characters and the various stories contained in them. The Daśarūpaka[1] recommends that intending dramatists should rely upon the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bṛhatkathā for plots. Dr. V. Raghavan recently published a work on 'Some old lost Rāma plays' (Annamalai University, 1961).

It appears from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra that it knew the central story of the Mahābhārata and that of the Rāmāyaṇa. For example, on I. 6. 8 (Arthaśāstra) it is stated that Rāvaṇa perished since he did not restore another's wife owing to pride and Duryodhana perished because he on account of pride did not agree to give a portion of the kingdom. In Arthaśāstra VIII. 3. 41-43 reference is made to Jayatsena and Duryodhana winning in gambling because of expertness in it and Nala and Yudhiṣṭhira lost in gambling. In the Mahābhārata, however, Nala's opponent is said to have been Puṣkara (and not Jayatsena). There is little to show that the Arthaśāstra refers to literary works like the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa and not to tales current among people in its day.

The Mahābhārata is predominantly a Vaiṣṇavite work and contains two of the five jewels of Vaiṣṇavism viz. the Gītā and the one thousand names of Viṣṇu (in Anuśāsanaparva 149. 14-120).

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1 इत्याद्यशेषमिह वस्तुविभेदजातं रामायणादि च विभाव्य बृहत्कथां च । आसूत्रयेत्तदनु नेतृरसानुगुण्याच्चित्रां कथामुचितचारुवचःप्रपञ्चैः ॥ दशरूपक I. 67.

But it is not at all so thoroughgoing in its dogma as are some medieval South Indian works of the 11th and later centuries A. D. The Anuśāsana (17. 31–153) contains 1008 names of Śiva also. In many places the identity of Śiva and Viṣṇu is emphasized as in Vanaparva and Śāntiparva.[1] There are grand eulogies of Śiva in Droṇaparva 80. 39–48 and Sauptikaparva 17 (this last by Kṛṣṇa). In Anuśāsana (16.8) Śiva is identified with *Brahman*.

The Mausalaparva[2] (chap. 7) narrates that, after Kṛṣṇa passed away, Arjuna went alone to Dvārakā in order to bring his wives and the Yādava women to the Pāṇḍava capital, that Arjuna was attacked by the Ābhīras on his way and the Ābhīras forcibly carried away many ladies and *some went with them of their own free will.* Moreover, in Śalyaparva 61. 28 ff,[3] where Duryodhana, being mortally wounded by a mace stroke on the thigh by Bhīma, severely upbraided Vāsudeva for the breaches of the rules such as putting up Śikhaṇḍin against Bhīṣma and Yudhiṣṭhira's prevarication about the death of Aśvatthāmā. Then Vāsudeva referred to Duryodhana's evil deeds (verses 42–47), such as not giving a share to Pāṇḍavas in the paternal estate, poisoning Bhīma, trying to burn Pāṇḍavas together with their mother in '*jatugṛha*', taking by force Draupadī to the Sabhā when she was in her monthly period, assault on the very young Abhimanyu by many of Duryodhana's partisans, and added that he was killed for all these misdeeds. The text says that the gods showered flowers on Duryodhana and Gandharvas played on musical instruments &c. (verses 55–58). If the great epic had been a thoroughgoing Vaiṣṇava work these incidents would not have been mentioned by it.

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1 शिवाय विष्णुरूपाय विष्णवे शिवरूपिणे । दक्षयज्ञविनाशाय हरिरुद्राय वै नमः ॥ वनपर्व 39. 76–77 ; vide also शान्ति 342.33 यस्त्वां वेत्ति स मां वेत्ति यस्त्वामनु स मामनु । नावयोरन्तरं किंचिन्मा ते भूद्बुद्धिरन्यथा । निष्कलं सकलं कृत्यनिर्गुणं गुणगोचरम् । योगिनां परमानन्दमक्षरं मोक्षसंज्ञितम् ॥ अनुशासन 16. 8. Compare निष्कलं निष्क्रियं शान्तं निरवद्यं निरञ्जनम् ॥ अमृतस्य परं सेतुं दग्धेन्धनमिवानलम् ॥ श्वेताश्व० VI-19; ज्ञानप्रसादेन विशुद्धसत्त्वस्ततस्तु तं पश्यते निष्कलं ध्यायमानः ॥ मुण्डकोप. III 1. 8.

2 म्रियतां सर्वयोधानां समस्ताः प्रमदोत्तमाः । समन्ततोऽवकृष्यन्त कामाच्चान्याः प्रवव्रजुः ॥ मौसल० 7. 59.

3 दुर्योधनो वासुदेवं वाग्भिरुग्राभिरार्दयत् । कंसदासस्य दायाद न ते लज्जास्त्यनेन वै ॥ अधर्मेण गदायुद्धे यदहं विनिपातितः । ऊरू भिन्धीति भीमस्य स्मृतिं मिथ्या प्रयच्छता । ... शिखण्डिनं पुरस्कृत्य घातितस्ते पितामहः । अश्वत्थाम्नः सनामानं हत्वा नागं सुदुर्मते ॥ आचार्यो न्यासितः शस्त्रं० । शल्यपर्व 61. 27–32.

A few passages[1] common to two or more works with slight variations from among Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Mahābhārata, Manu, Mahābhāṣya, and Rāmāyaṇa are here set out and some have been mentioned in H. of Dh., vol. I, pp. 385–6.

THE RĀMĀYAṆA

It is remarkable that an Italian scholar, G. Gorrecio, published the text of the Rāmāyaṇa in five volumes (the first being published in 1843 A. D. with a long Introduction of 143 pages and the Uttarakāṇḍa being omitted) and five more volumes of translations, Prefaces and Indexes, the 10th volume being published in 1858 A. D. The Rāmāyaṇa has been edited in several places e. g. by the Gujarati Press of Bombay in seven volumes (with three commentaries) and by the Nirṇayasāgara Press (text in two volumes) in 1905. A critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa on the lines of the Poona critical edition of the Mahābhārata was undertaken at Baroda and so far the first three *kāṇḍas* have been issued. In the present edition of the H. of Dh. the one volume edition of the text of the Rāmāyaṇa published by Mr. R. Narayanaswami Aiyar and edited by a committee of four scholars in 1933 and based on four palm-leaf mss. and several printed editions has been used.

There are several recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa, three being well-known, viz. the Southern represented by the Gujarati Press edition in seven parts and the Nir. edition in two parts, the Bengali recension (represented by Gorrecio's edition) and North-western recension represented by the edition of the Rāmāyaṇa published by the D. A. V. College, Lahore in 1923 ff. The Southern recension is the most widely spread of the three. Jacobi found differences in these recensions and classified them and arrived at the following conclusions :- (1) Each recension differs from both or one of the other two in the common verses,

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1 (1) नास्य गुह्यं-कौ. I. 15.60, मनु VII. 105, शान्ति 140. 24.

(2) नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः स्यात्–इत्याचार्याः । कौ. I. 4. 5–6, मनु. VII. 102–3, आदि 140. 6–7, शान्ति 140. 7–8.

(3) मात्स्यन्यायः-कौ. I. 4. 13, I. 13. 5, शान्ति 15. 30, 67. 16, मनु VII. 20.

(4) संवत्सरेण पतति०– मनु XI. 180, शान्ति 165. 37.

(5) एकं हन्यान्न वा हन्यादिषुः क्षिप्तो धनुष्मता । प्राज्ञेन तु मतिः क्षिप्ता हन्याद्गर्भगतानपि ॥ कौ. X. 6. 51, उद्योग. 33. 43.

(6) इन्द्रस्य हि स प्रणमति यो बलीयसो नमतीति भारद्वाजः । कौ. XII. 1–2 ; उद्योग 34. 37 and शान्ति. 67. 11 (इन्द्राय स प्रणमते नमते यो बलीयसे ॥).

(7) कल्याणी वत गाथेयं लौकिकी प्रतिभाति मे । एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नरं वर्षशतादपि ॥ सुन्दरकान्ड 34. 6, युद्धकाण्ड 129. 2 (Gorrecio's ed. 126. 2); the महाभाष्य quotes the quarter एति जीवन्तमानन्दः on Pāṇ. I. 3. 12 (Kielhorn vol. I. p. 277) and on III. 1. 67 वार्तिक 5 (Kielhorn vol. II. p. 59).

the Southern recension having the more original text ; (2) each recension has a good number of verses, longer passages and sometimes whole cantos, which are not found in one of the other two recensions or in both the other recensions; (3) the sequence of the verses is often different in two or sometimes in all three recensions. Jacobi found that in the first 30 cantos of Kiṣkindhā 749 verses were common out of a total of 1303 verses in Southern recension and 1228 in East Bengal recension. Prof. C. Bulcke finds that of the 4202½ verses of the N. W. version of Sundarakāṇḍa, 31 percent are absent from the Bengal version and 28 percent from the Southern Recension and 13 percent exclusively belong to the N. W. recension (vide Poona Orientalist, vol. 25 at p. 37) and adds that the narrative changes very little and that the additional verses are often due to repetition of laments, consolations and fuller descriptions of events already narrated. He advances the plausible theory that all three recensions were reduced to writing independently on the basis of a text which had been transmitted orally for several centuries by professional singers who had committed the poem to memory. Prof. C. Bulcke (of Allahabad University) in his careful paper on the (three Rāmāyaṇa recensions) examines these divergences in the recensions (in J. O. R., Madras vol. 17 pp. 1–32) and arrives at the conclusion that, in spite of the divergences, the subject matter of the Rāmāyaṇa, viz. the narrative itself has been changed very little. He examines 152 cases from the seven *kāṇḍas* and shows, (A) how in some cases the subject matter occurring in the Southern recension is absent from one recension or from both of the other recensions ; (B) the subject matter not found in the Southern recension is in some cases present in one or both of the other recensions ; and lastly (C) there are other differences among the three recensions which cannot be classified under either A or B. He points out places where entire *sargas* or fairly long passages are not present in all the recensions even if they do not contain any new subject-matter.

A few striking illustrations of the divergence in the three recensions may be cited here :

1 In the Bālakāṇḍa, the auspicious conjunctions of the planets in certain signs of the Zodiac (Rāśis) at the birth of Rāma and his brothers occur in the Southern recension but are absent in the other two;[1] (2) a long poetic description of the Ganges in Ayodhyā (50.

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1 ततश्च द्वादशे मासे चैत्रे नावमिके तिथौ । नक्षत्रेऽदितिदैवत्ये स्वोच्चसंस्थेषु पञ्चसु । ग्रहेषु कर्कटे लग्ने वाक्पताविन्दुना सह । प्रोद्यमाने जगन्नाथं सर्वलोकनमस्कृतम् । कौसल्याजनयद्रामं... ॥ पुष्ये जातस्तु भरतो मीनलग्ने प्रसन्नधीः । ... सार्पे जातौ च सौमित्री कुलीरेऽभ्युदिते रवौ । बालकाण्ड 18. verses 8-10, 13-14. Aditi is the presiding deity of (Punarvasu

(*Continued on the next page*)

13–14) is absent in the other two recensions; (3) the condemnation of Buddha as *nāstika* (atheist) and as resembling a thief occurs in Ayodhyā (chap. 109.34) in Southern recension but is absent in Gorrecio's ed. and the whole chap. is absent in N. W. recension; (4) Two *sargas*, 62 and 63, of Araṇyakāṇḍa (in S. recension) are absent from both Bengal and N. W. recensions; (5) a group of six *sargas* (10–15) in Yuddha-kāṇḍa in S. recension is entirely absent from the Bengali recension and partly from N. W. recension.

Many of the quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa in medieval digests are not found in the current editions of the epic, e.g. the Dānasāgara of Ballālasena, king of Bengal (composed in śake 1091 i. e. 1169–70 A. D.) quotes four verses from the Rāmāyaṇa of which only one is found in the Yuddhakāṇḍa (18.30), acc. to Mr. Bhabtosh Bhattacharya in his paper on ' The Rāmāyaṇa and its influence on Ballālasena and Raghunandana' in J. O. I. (Baroda) vol. II (pp. 18–22). Vide Dr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya's ' Studies in Dharmaśāstra ' published in 'Indian Studies' (past and present) in 1964, in which he gives a list of verses from Rāmāyaṇa in seven digests (from Dānasāgara and others) which can be identified (pp. 53–55) and another list on pp. 55–56, where verses quoted as from Rāmāyaṇa in the same works cannot be identified. In another paper on the Rāmāyaṇa and its influence upon the medieval digests of Eastern India Dr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya shows that the early medieval works like the Hāralatā of Aniruddha and the three Ratnākaras of Caṇḍeśvara on Kṛtya, Gṛhastha and Vivāda, quote the Rāmāyaṇa sparingly, e. g. Aniruddha quotes only five verses and the Ratnākaras quote only four verses and that it is only the later medieval works such as the three out of the four Kaumudīs of Govindānanda that quote fourteen verses from the Rāmāyaṇa, most of which are found in all recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Rājadharmakaustubha of Anantadeva quotes in all 39 verses from the Rāmāyaṇa, but many of these verses do not tally exactly with the three recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

nakṣatra), Sarpāḥ (serpents) of Āśleṣā ; Karkaṭa (and Kulīra also) is Cancer sign and Mīna is 'Pisces'; the *ucca* Signs (signs of exaltation) are Meṣa, Vṛṣabha, Makara, Kanyā, Karkaṭa, Mīna and Tulā and are respectively the *ucca* signs of the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn. For the horoscope of Rāma and his brothers as described in the Rāmāyaṇa, vide the present author's paper in J. O. I. (Baroda) vol. I pp. 5–7 ; vide the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa (15. 3) where there is a reference to the Karkaṭaka sign उदिते विमले सूर्ये पुष्ये चाभ्यागतेऽहनि । लग्ने कर्कटके प्राप्ते चन्द्रे (v. l. जन्म) रामस्य च स्थिते ।' (the Madras ed.). It should be noted that the astrological details about five planets being in exaltation (ucca) are associated in the Raghuvaṁśa (III. 13) with the birth of Raghu and not at all with the birth of Rāma (Raghuvaṁśa X. 66–67).

It should be noted that the Uttarakāṇḍa shows no difference worth mentioning. Therefore, it may be assumed that that kāṇḍa is not only the work of later interpolators, but it must have been composed after the original poem was bifurcated into the Southern recension and Northern recension. The Mahābhārata narrates the Rāma story in Vanaparva (chap. 273–292) in about 750 verses. It may be noticed that some of the incidents mentioned in the Uttarakāṇḍa occur in the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa. For example, Rāma's spy called Bhadra was ordered by Rāma on his return to Ayodhyā (after the destruction of Rāvaṇa and his forces) to report what was talked in the capital and the kingdom by the citizens and other people about himself (Rāma), about Sītā and about his brothers (Uttara. chap. 43. 4–6). Then, Bhadra, after repeating what people said about Rāma's exploits, stated that people talked disparagingly about taking back Sītā, whom Rāvaṇa had placed on his lap when carrying her away and had imprisoned in the Aśokavanikā and that the subjects remarked that they would have to endure, if similar incidents happened in the case of their wives.[1] In the Raghuvaṁśa (14. 31) also the spy is called Bhadra. It is clear that Kālidāsa knew the Uttarakāṇḍa. The Raghuvaṁśa in chapter 15 closely follows the Uttarakāṇḍa. A few incidents may be set out. Raghu° 15. 81–84 may be compared with Uttarakāṇḍa 97. 15–17. Compare also Raghu. 15.87-90 with Uttara° chap. 100, Raghu 15. 89–90 with Uttara, chap. 101–102, Raghu. 15. 92–95 with Uttara° 103–5, Raghu° 15. 97–98 with Uttara° 107. Kālidāsa in Raghu (14.70) echoes the very words of the Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa[2] 2. 18 and 40).

It should be noted that at the end of the Yuddhakāṇḍa there is a long *phalaśruti* about the fruits of reading it and there is another at the end of the Uttarakāṇḍa also.[3] Besides, the first canto of the Bālakāṇḍa gives a synopsis of the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa up to Rāma's becoming a king after returning from his victory over Rāvaṇa, in which there is no reference to the subject matter of the Bālakāṇḍa or of the Uttarakāṇḍa. Then, again, in the 3rd chap. of the Bālakāṇḍa there is a summary of events from Rāma's birth up to his abandonment

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1 अङ्कमारोप्य तु पुरा रावणेन बलाद्धृताम् । लङ्कामपि पुरा नीतामशोकवनिकां गताम् । रक्षसां वशमापन्नां कथं रामो न कुत्सते । अस्माकमपि दारेषु सहनीयं भविष्यति । यथा हि कुरुते राजा प्रजा तमनुवर्तते । उत्तरकाण्ड 53. 16–19 ; Compare 'स किंवदन्तीं वदतां पुरोगः स्ववृत्तमुद्दिश्य विशुद्धवृत्तः । सर्पाधिराजोऽरुभुजोऽपसर्पं पप्रच्छ भद्रं विजितारिभद्रः ॥' रघु. 14. 31.

2 निषादविद्धाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः ॥ रघु० 14. 70 ; Compare बालकाण्ड 2. 18 शोकार्तस्य प्रवृत्तो मे श्लोको भवतु नान्यथा । and 2. 41 सोनुव्याहरणाद्भूयः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ।

3 Vide युद्धकाण्ड chap. 131 (Madras ed.) verses 111–124 and उत्तरकाण्ड chap. III verses 11–25 'for phalaśruti'.

of Sītā. It follows that even at the time of this second table of contents the Uttarakāṇḍa had not come up to its present form. Dr. Bulcke is not right when he says (on p. 41 of his paper in Poona Orientalist Vol. XXV) that Lakṣmaṇa was unmarried as Rāma says in Araṇyakāṇḍa (18. 3). The learned writer forgets that Rāma was making fun of Śūrpaṇakhā who wanted Rāma to marry her and therefore he (Rāma who had Sītā with him) jocosely said that Lakṣmaṇa (unaccompanied by a woman) was unmarried and that she might approach him. But this was all spoken in fun, as is made clear by the word '*parihāsāvicakṣaṇā*' applied to Śūrpaṇakhā (not clever enough to understand the ridicule and the joke). Bālakāṇḍa, chap. 73 verses 30-33) specify the names of the wives of Rāma and his brothers and Ayodhyā chap. 118. 53 expressly says that Urmilā was married to Lakṣmaṇa.

The Rāma story is frequently alluded to in the extant Mahābhārata. The story of the golden deer[1] (Mārīca) whose beautiful skin Sītā longed to have (Araṇyakāṇḍa. chap. 43-44) is referred to in the Sabhāparva 76.5. The Vanaparva (chapters 147. 31 to 148. 19) summarizes the Rāma story and ends with the verse that Rāma ruled the kingdom for eleven thousand years. This verse occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa also (Yuddha 131.106). The Droṇaparva (chap. 59) describes the excellence of Rāmarājya. The Droṇaparva (196. 36) compares the death of Droṇa to the death of Vālin. A large volume would have to be written if one were to deal with all questions relating to the two epics. I hold that there is no doubt that there existed a Bhārata Epic before there was a Rāmāyaṇa (Vide 'the Great Epic of India' by Hopkins, as he says on p. 61). Jacobi's German work on the Rāmāyaṇa has been translated into English by Dr. Ghoshal piecemeal in the Volumes of the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, in vol. V onwards.

In the Śalyaparva (39. 9-10) reference is made to the cutting of the head of a rākṣasa by Rāma in Janasthāna. In the Śāntiparva[2] is mentioned the story of the return to life of a brāhmaṇa boy (who had died prematurely) when Rāma killed Śambuka, a śūdra practising penance. The Śāntiparva speaks of the death of Rāvaṇa at the hands of

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1 असम्भवे हेममयस्य जन्तोस्तथापि रामो लुलुभे मृगाय–सभा. 76. 5; दशवर्षसहस्राणि दश वर्षशतानि च । राज्यं कारितवान् रामस्ततः स्वभवनं गतः ॥ वनपर्व 148. 19; द्रोणपर्व 59. 21-22 (2nd half is सर्वभूतमनःकान्तो रामो राज्यमकारयत); दशरथजातक (p. 130) has दसवस्ससहस्सानि सट्ठिवस्ससतानि च । कम्बुगीवो महाबाहु रामो रज्जं अकारयीति । verse 93.

2 श्रूयते शम्बुके शूद्रे हते ब्राह्मणदारकः । जीवितो धर्ममासाद्य रामात्सत्यपराक्रमात् ॥ शान्ति 153. 67.

Rāma who was angered by Rāvaṇa.[1] The Droṇaparva compares the fight of Ghaṭotkaca and Alāyudha with the fight of Rāma and Rāvaṇa (96.27–28).

All verse quotations in the Mahābhāṣya are collected in one place by Kielhorn in I. A. vol. 14, pp. 326–327.

Another question much discussed by some Western scholars is the relation of the Rāmāyaṇa to the Daśarathajātaka. Reasons of space prevent any detailed discussion. The Daśarathajātaka (No. 461 in Fausböll's edition, vol. IV) is a travesty of the Rāma story. In it Sītā is a *sister of Rāma*, Daśaratha is a king of Benares (and not of Ayodhyā) who is said to have had 16000 wives and Sītā (a sister) is made queen after Rāma's return from the forest. There is nothing peculiarly Buddhist in it. The Jātakas form a later part of the Pali literature. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' furnishes a chronological table of Buddhist literature from Buddha's times to Aśoka and divides it into ten groups of which the Jātakas and Dhammapadas form the 7th. The Jātakas are not earlier than 250 B. C. and may be later by a century or more. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the germs of most of the Jātaka stories were derived from the folk-lore of India existing in those times. They are meant to glorify Buddha in his supposed previous existences and, while using well-known names, try (probably purposely) to make these names (except that of the Bodhisattva) ridiculous. For example, the Kaṇha Dīpāyana Jātaka No. 444 (its prose being in two distinct parts) makes it clear that none of the traits of the most famous sage of the Mahābhārata can be traced in the Jātaka called after him. The Jātakas generally contain some Gāthās and some prose passages. In a number of Jātakas the prose parts are in conflict with the gāthās or have nothing to do with them. The prose parts in their present form belong to 5th cent. A. D. and arose in Ceylon. Jacobi ('Das Rāmāyaṇa' pp. 84 ff) and Keith (JRAS. 1915 p. 323) hold that the prose parts of Jātakas are confused and belong to a later date. Two questions arise viz. (1) Does the Daśaratha-jātaka present an older form of the Rāma story? (2) Is the Daśaratha Jātaka really older than the Rāmāyaṇa? According to the present author the replies to these two questions are in the negative and he agrees with the conclusions of the late Mr. N. B. Utgikar (in JRAS. Centenary Supplement pp. 203–211). Vide also the same scholar's paper in JBBRAS (New Series vol. 4 pp. 115–134). In most of the Jātakas also the stories as told in the Epic differ greatly from the stories labelled under the same name in them.

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1 रोषस्य हि वशं गत्वा दशग्रीवः प्रतापवान् । तथा शक्रप्रतिस्पर्धी हतो रामेण संयुगे ॥ शान्ति 360. 15.

In the Daśarathajātaka (No. 461, p. 127) occurs a gāthā ('phalānam iva pakkānaṁ niccaṁ papatanā bhayam । evaṁ jātānām maccānaṁ niccam maraṇato bhayam ॥'), which occurs in Gorrecio's edition (vol. II p. 42, verse 4) and is quoted below[1] (but does not occur in other editions).

Just as in the extant Mahābhārata references are sometimes made to the Rāma story, so in the extant Rāmāyaṇa occur references to the legends that occur in the Mahābhārata. For example, the story of Sāvitrī (daughter of Aśvapati, king of the Madras, and wife of Satyavān, son of Dyumatsena, the blind king of Śālva) well-known to all Indian women as the paragon of wifely virtue, is described in Vanaparva (chap. 293–299), is very briefly mentioned in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, where[2] Rāma first expressed his unwillingness to allow Sītā to accompany him in his forest exile. It should be noted that the verse speaks of Sāvitrī's story as well-known and does not dilate on any of the incidents connected with that story. It is again referred to in Sundarakāṇḍa 24.11. In the Sundarakāṇḍa (chap. 24. 10-12) six *pativratās* are named among whom Damayantī is the last.[3] The story of Nala, king of Niṣadha, and his devoted wife Damayantī is one of the longest ākhyānas in the Mahābhārata and is a very charming one. It is set out in the Vanaparva, chapters 52–79. Cyavana was a son of Bhṛgu. Vanaparva (chap. 122–124) narrates at some length how Sukanyā, daughter of king Śaryāti, had to marry the sage blinded by her through mistake. She stuck to the old and blinded Cyavana, although the Aśvins sought her hand. It should be noticed that most of these stories occur in the Mahābhārata and some (like those of Sāvitrī, Damayantī and Sukanyā) at great length, while the Rāmāyaṇa employs them only for comparison and does not set them out at length. Sagara is referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā 36.16 about Asamañja). But no reference is made to his wives. In Vanaparva (chap. 106–7) it is stated that Sagara was a descendant of Ikṣvāku, had two wives, Vaidarbhī and Śaibyā, had from Śaibyā one son called Asamañja whom he banished because he indulged in the pastime of drowning the children of the

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1 यथा फलानां पक्कानां नान्यत्र पतनाद्भयम् । एवं नराणां जातानां नान्यत्र मरणाद्भयम् ॥

2 द्युमत्सेनसुतं वीरं सत्यवन्तमनुव्रतम् । सावित्रीमिव मां विद्धि त्वमात्मवशवर्तिनीम् ॥ अयोध्या 30. 6.

3 लोपामुद्रा यथागस्त्यं सुकन्या च्यवनं यथा । सावित्री सत्यवन्तं च कपिलं श्रीमती यथा ॥ सौदासं मदयन्तीव केशिनी सगरं यथा । नैषधं दमयन्तीव भैमी पतिमनुव्रता । सुन्दर० 24. 11–12. The हर्षचरित (I उच्छ्वास pp. 11–12 of the author's edition) refers to सुकन्या, daughter of king शर्याति and her marriage with sage च्यवन who had his hermitage about two *krośas* beyond the Śoṇa (river).

subjects (Śānti, chap. 57.8–9) and Sagara had sixty thousand sons from Vaidarbhī who were all reduced to ashes by Kapila's wrath when they dug the earth, found Aśvamedha horse near sage Kapila and wanted to apprehend Kapila as the thief. The story of Uttaṅka, a devoted pupil of Gautama, is narrated at length in Āśvamedhikaparva chap. 55–58 and in Vanaparva chap. 132–33. He married the daughter of Gautama and requested Ahalyā, Gautama's wife, to accept some present as *Gurudakṣiṇā* (fee). When Uttaṅka pressed her to accept something, she asked him to bring the jewelled ear-rings of the wife of king Saudāsa, a man-eater (56.31). He went to Saudāsa and begged for the ear-rings of his wife Madayantī. Saudāsa asked him to see his wife and give her his message. A long story is narrated about the ear-rings which she gave. King Janaka held assemblies of learned men for discussion. One *bandin* (i. e. *sūta* at his court) used to argue with learned men, defeated them and plunged them in water. Uddālaka had a pupil Kahoḍa, who married the daughter of his guru. She conceived and the child in the womb rebuked his father when he committed mistakes in repeating Veda. The father cursed the foetus that he would be defective in eight limbs. Aṣṭāvakra defeated *bandin* and those who had been thrown into water (including Kahoḍa who had been defeated by Bandin) were revived by Varuṇa and then Kahoḍa recited a verse set out in the note below.[1] Yayāti is frequently mentioned for comparison or illustration as in Ayodhyā 5. 10 (same words in Kiṣkindhā 17. 9, viz. 'Yayātim–iva puṇyānte devalokād–iha cyutam ', also Araṇya° 66. 7. ' Jāmadagnya Rāma ' killed his mother at his father's order (Ayodhyā 21. 33); Viṣṇu taking three steps (Kiṣkindhā 67. 3 and 25).

The Sundarakāṇḍa is regarded by scholars as part of the original epic. Therefore, it is probable that the part of Sundarakāṇḍa which mentions the names of six *pativratās*, the stories about whom occur at length in the Vanaparva and Āśvamedhika–parva, is probably later than the *parvans* (Vana and Āśvamedhika) which are held by several scholars to be later than earlier parvans of the great Epic.

Nalakūbara is said to have cursed Rāvaṇa when the latter ravished *apsaras* Rambhā (Vanaparva 280.59–60, Uttarakāṇḍa 26. 15 and 41 ff) who had an assignment with Nalakūbara, son of Vaiśravaṇa, brother of Rāvaṇa; on hearing about this he cursed Rāvaṇa that his

1 तारितोहं त्वया पुत्र सुपुत्रेण महात्मना । अष्टावक्रेण धर्मात्मा कहोलो ब्राह्मणो यथा । युद्धकाण्ड 122. 16. The verse that Kahola repeated was : इत्यर्थमिच्छन्ति सुताञ्जना जनन-कर्मणा । यदहं नाशकं कर्तुं तत्पुत्रः कृतवान्मम ॥ वनपर्व 134. 33.

head would be shattered in seven pieces if he dared to ravish any woman. In the Yuddhakāṇḍa (122. 16) it is stated that Daśaratha (who had died and had gone to heaven) came in a heavenly car to meet Rāma after his victory over Rāvaṇa and said 'You have saved me as the brāhmaṇa Kahola was saved by Aṣṭāvakra.' The story of Aṣṭāvakra, son of Kahoda is narrated in Vanaparva chap. 132–4. King Nṛga, while making gifts of cows to brāhmaṇas, by mistake donated the cow belonging to a brāhmaṇa which had strayed among the cows belonging to the king and when the brāhmaṇa lodged a complaint against the recipient of his cow before the king, the latter did not look into the matter for many days and the two brāhmaṇas cursed him to be a chameleon. That story is referred to in Anuśāsana 6. 38, Āśvamedhika 90. 99–100 and Anuśāsana 70 (at length) and 72. 2.

Taking the cue from the name Sītā (the heroine of the Rāmāyaṇa) several scholars have regarded the Rāmāyaṇa as an allegory, the word Sītā being employed twice in the Ṛgveda (IV. 57. 6 and 7) and apostrophized as a goddess.[1] Three personages are known to our mythology as Rāma, viz. Jāmadagnya Rāma (or Paraśurāma), Balarāma (brother of Kṛṣṇa) and Dāśarathi Rāma. It is unnecessary for the history of Dharmaśāstra to deal with this question when the Rāmāyaṇa is admitted by all scholars as separated from the Ṛgveda by at least a thousand years or more.

It has been stated above that the core of the Rāmāyaṇa story may be only as old as 300–250 B. C. at the most. Aśvaghoṣa[2] in his Buddhacarita refers to Vālmīki as writing a poetical work when Cyavana (his ancestor) did not do so. Besides, the Raghuvaṁśa closely follows the Uttarakāṇḍa as shown above. If we accept the date of Kālidāsa as between 350 to 450 A. D., then the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form cannot be placed later than about 200 A. D. and may be placed at least a century or two earlier. In the Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa two verses have been expressly quoted as recited by Manu which occur in the present Manu.[3]

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1 अर्वाची सुभगे भव सीते वन्दामहे त्वा । यथा नः सुभगासासि यथा नः सुफलासासि ॥ इन्द्रः सीतां नि गृह्णातु तां पूषानु यच्छतु । सा नः पयस्वती दुहामुत्तरामुत्तरां समाम् ॥ ऋ. IV. 57. 6–7. सीता means the furrow left by a plough.

2 वाल्मीकिनादश्च जगाद पद्यं जग्रन्थ यन्न च्यवनो महर्षिः । बुद्धचरित I. 43.

3 श्रूयते मनुना गीतौ श्लोकौ चारित्रवत्सलौ । गृहीतौ धर्मकुशलैस्तत्तथाचरितं मया ॥ राजभिः धृतदण्डास्तु कृत्वा पापानि मानवाः । निर्मलाः स्वर्गमायान्ति सन्तः सुकृतिनो यथा ॥ शासनाद्वा विमोक्षाद्वा स्तेनः स्तेयाद्विमुच्यते । राजा त्वशासन्पापस्य तदवाप्नोति किल्बिषम् ॥ किष्किन्धा 18. 31–33. Vide Manu VIII, 318 and 316. The first occurs in Vas. Dh. S. 19.45 also and for the 2nd compare Vas. Dh. S. 19. 46.

In Ayodhyā 107.11–13 two verses are stated to have been uttered by Gaya in Gayā with reference to *pitṛs*.[1]

The Rāmāyaṇa being mainly a Kāvya is not frequently or profusely quoted by works on Dharmaśāstra, particularly by comparatively earlier ones. Among the early commentators, Medhātithi on Manu IV. 217 refers to the Rāmāyaṇa as prescribing Śrāddha on the 4th, 8th, 9th and 10th days after the death of a person. On Manu V. 7 Medhātithi quotes without naming the Rāmāyaṇa a half verse from it (yadannaḥ puruṣo rājan–tadannāstasya devatāḥ).[2] It may be noted that the Dhvanyāloka (a Kashmirian work on Poetics of the latter half of the 9th century A. D.) quotes a verse from the Araṇya–kāṇḍa (16. 13) as an example where the *Vyaṅgya* (suggested) sense pushes the literal sense (*vācya*) of the word (*andha* in that verse) very much in the background (atyanta–tiraskṛta–vācya).[3] In spite of this writers on Sanskrit Poetics rarely quote or refer to it.

Even Aparārka who quotes the Mahābhārata dozens of times quotes the Rāmāyaṇa only twice.[4] On Yāj. I. 211 Aparārka quotes a verse saying of one who being able to save a *śaraṇāgata* allows him to die in his presence all merit (sukṛta i.e. puṇya) is taken away by the one (who is not saved). On offering water to one's deceased relations Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 5) quotes a verse from Ayodhyākāṇḍa (102–27). The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 57) quotes Sundarakāṇḍa 59, 35–36 about cessation of study on the first tithi of a month (pratipat–pāṭhaśīlasya

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1 श्रूयते हि पुरा तात श्रुतिर्गीता यशस्विना गयेन यजमानेन गयेष्वेव पितॄन् प्रति । पुंनाम्नो नरकाद्यस्मात् पितरं त्रायते सुतः । तस्मात्पुत्र इति प्रोक्तः पितॄन्यः पाति सर्वतः ॥ एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्रा गुणवन्तो बहुश्रुताः । तेषां वै समवेतानामपि कश्चिद्गयां व्रजेत् ॥ अयोध्या 107. 11–13. The first verse (पुंनाम्नो) occurs in Manu IX. 138 (last pāda is स्वयमेव स्वयंभुवा, आदिपर्व 229. 14 (first half), विष्णुधर्म० 15. 44 ; part of the 2nd verse occurs in वनपर्व 87. 10.

2 तथा च पक्वान्नभोजनेपि विधिमेतं स्मरन्ति । यदन्नः पुरुषो राजंस्तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः । इति । मेधा० on मनु V. 7. Vide : अयोध्याकाण्ड 102. 29–30 ऐङ्गुदं बदरीमिश्रं पिण्याकं दर्भसंस्तरे । न्यस्य रामः सुदुःखार्तो रुदन् वचनमब्रवीत् ॥ इदं भुंक्ष्व महाराज प्रीतो यदशना वयम् । यदन्नः पुरुषो भवति तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः ॥. The same half is repeated in अयोध्या 103. 14 'रामेणेङ्गुदिपिण्याकं पितुर्दत्तं समीक्ष्य मे । यदन्नः... देवताः ॥'. It is called there लौकिकीश्रुति.

3 रविसंक्रान्तसौभाग्यस्तुषारारुणमण्डलः । निःश्वासान्ध इवादर्शश्चन्द्रमा न प्रकाशते ॥ अरण्यकाण्ड 16. 13 (the Madras edition of रामायण reads तुषारावृतमण्डलः).

4 विनष्टः पश्यतो यस्य रक्षितुः शरणागतः । आदाय सुकृतं तस्मात्सर्वं गच्छत्यरक्षितः ॥ अयोध्याकाण्ड 18. 30 q. by अपरार्क p. 385.

vidyeva tanutām gatā). The Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata, brahmacāri, tīrtha and naiyatakāla has no verses from Rāmāyaṇa though Naiyatakālikā quotes about two dozen verses from the Mahābhārata). Both epics condemn the king who being engrossed in pleasures does not attend the court of justice when the parties approach him for justice. The Kalpataru on 'gṛhastha' quotes only two verses from Rāmāyaṇa, but it mentions the Mahābhārata twenty times, one citation on pp. 281-285 quoting 20 verses from Anuśāsana (11. 6-21) on where Śrī resides. The Dānasāgara composed by king Ballālasena in *śaka* 1091 (1169-70 A.D.) quotes the Mahābhārata over 200 times, but quotes from the Rāmāyaṇa only four verses.[1]

In the Rājanītiratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara (ed. by K. P. Jayaswal), verses about the right of the eldest son to succeed to his father are supported by quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa.[2]

Indian culture penetrated to Borneo, Java, Bali and other Indonesian islands. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Sugrīva is said to have sent his followers in search of Sītā in the four quarters. He directs them to the countries in the East and names Yavadvīpa (Java) as one of them (in Kiṣkindhā 40. 29-30).[3] Ptolemy (in his Geography of India about 150 A.D.) refers to it as Jabadien'. It is generally accepted that Java and Ṣumatra had been Hinduized before the 3rd century A. D. This is not the place to go into the question of the cultural migration from India to the Eastern Archipelago. Vide Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee's 'India and Java' (Calcutta, 1933). 'The culture of South-East Asia' by Reginald le May (pub. in 1954) with 216 illustrations at the end; 'South India and the Eastern Archipelago', in the Kṛṣṇasvāmi Aiyangar Vol. by C. S. Srinivasachari pp. 483-497; 'Sanskrit Texts from Bali' edited by Prof. Sylvain Levi (G. O. S. 1933); 'Indian influence on the Literature of Java and Bali' by H. B. Sarkar (Calcutta,

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1 नहि राज्ञः सुताः सर्वे राज्ये तिष्ठन्ति भामिनि । स्थाप्यमानेषु सर्वेषु सुमहाननयो भवेत् । तस्माज्ज्येष्ठे हि कैकेयि राज्यतन्त्राणि पार्थिवाः । स्थापयन्त्यनवद्याङ्गि गुणवत्स्वितरेष्वपि ॥ रामायण, अयोध्या 8. 23-24 q. by राजनीतिरत्नाकर p. 76, which quotes also Vasiṣtha's words in Ayodhyā 110. 36 (on p. 77) 'इक्ष्वाकूणां हि सर्वेषां राजा भवति पूर्वजः । पूर्वजे नावरः पुत्रो ज्येष्ठो राजा भविष्यति' ॥

2 रामायणे जलप्रदानवाक्यं राम आह । इदं पुरुषशार्दूल विमलं दिव्यमक्षयम् । पितृलोकेषु पानीयं मद्दत्तमुपतिष्ठताम् । अपरार्क on या. III. 5. p. 875. The verse occurs with slight variations in अयोध्या 103. 27 : एतत्ते राजशार्दूल विमलं तोयमक्षयम् । पितृलोकगतस्याद्य मद्दत्तमुपतिष्ठतु ॥.

3 यत्नवन्तो यवद्वीपं सप्तराज्योपशोभितम् ॥ सुवर्णरूप्यकं चैव सुवर्णाकरमण्डितम् । यवद्वीपमतिक्रम्य शिशिरो नाम पर्वतः ॥ किष्किन्धा 40. 29-30.

1934); Stutterheim's 'Rāma legenden' and 'Pictorial History of civilization in Java;' 'History of Śrīvijaya' by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (1949); 'Hindu Law in Java and Bali' by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in S. K. Aiyangar Memorial Volume, pp. 445-461.

The Mahābhārata became very popular in Java; the Javanese puppet shows called 'wayang' have preserved the old Hindu traditions even in these days, though Java has been a Moslem country for five centuries. Tantric doctrines also prevailed in Java and Sumatra. The Rāmāyaṇa exists in Bali in the Kavi language. There exist several recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa in Java, both in verse and prose.

Some incidents of the Rāma story are represented in the Javanese 'Wayang' (shadow plays). Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee in 'India and Java' p. 29 states " In a 6th century inscription of Cambodia we find the following passage 'with the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇa he (the Brahman Somaśarman) gave the complete Mahābhārata and arranged for a daily recitation without interruption'. About India's influence on architecture in Indonesia Levi writes " In Architecture it is in distant Cambodia and distant Java that we have to look for the two wonders produced by the Indian genius, Angkor and Boro-Budur' (q. from 'Śrīvijaya' by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri p. 11).

Two interesting chapters in the two epics are known as 'Kaccit-praśna' chapters. They are Sabhā-parva chap. 5 verses 17–110 and 114–125 (in all 106 verses) where the sage Nārada asks Yudhiṣṭhira certain questions about what an ideal king is expected to do in all that concerns the Government of the State and the people, and Ayodhyākāṇḍa chap. 100 verses 76 (of which the first five are introductory in which Rāma, who was staying on Citrakūṭa along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa), inquires of Bharata about the Government of Ayodhyā after Rāma left.[1] In verses 6–10 Rāma asks Bharata about Daśaratha, about the Upādhyāya (Vasiṣṭha) of the family and about his mother and step-mother; so in the Rāmāyaṇa only 66 verses are properly concerned with the Government of the country, the king's duties and actions and cognate matters, while in the Mahābhārata these matters are dealt with much more elaborately (in 106 verses). One interesting feature of these two chapters is that they contain about twenty-nine identical verses. Sometimes the Rāmāyaṇa text is corrupt. Very slight differences of readings are not noted here but only substantial ones.

1 For the Mahābhārata the Chitraśālā edition and for the Rāmāyaṇa the one volume edition published in 1933 by Mr. R. Narayanswami Aiyar have been used; A or. Ay. = Ayodhyākāṇḍa and S = Sabhāparva, being used in the verses having 'Kaccit' in them.

The word 'Kaccit' is employed when the person asking the question desires to receive a favourable reply, as the Amarakośa says 'Kaccit kāmapravedane'. The Rāmāyaṇa employs this word in other passages also as in Bālakāṇḍa 52. 7–9. The Gītā also employs it in chap. 18. 72 (Śrīkṛṣṇa asks 'Kaccid-ajñāna-sammohaḥ praṇaṣṭaste Dhanañjaya' and the reply is 18. 73 'naṣṭo mohaḥ, &c' as Kṛṣṇa desired.

(A = Ayodhyākāṇḍa and S = Sabhāparva)

(1) A. 100.17 – S.5.29 reads 'arthavit' for 'arthanaipuṇam' of A ;

(2) A. 100.62–63 – S. 5.19–20 (A reads 'prītilobhena' for 'prītisāreṇa' of S.) ;

(3) A. 100.52 – S. 5.32 (reads in last pāda 'saṁsṛṣṭam cātra' for 'madhyamevātra' of A) ;

(4) A. 100.22 – S. 5.35 (reads in first half 'sahasrair-mūrkhāṇāmekam' for 'sahasrān-mūrkhāṇām–ekam-icchasi' of A) ;

(5) A. 100.24 – S. 5.37 (reads 'Dānto' for 'Dakṣo' of A) ;

(6) A. 100.36 – S. 5.38 (reads 'cārakaiḥ' for 'cāraṇaiḥ' of A which is a misreading and makes no sense) ;

(7) A. 100.11–12 – S. 5.40–41 (reads 'anupraṣṭā' for 'anudraṣṭā' of A) ;

(8) A. 100.25-28 – S. 5.43–46 (S reads 'udvijase prajāḥ' for 'udveditaprajam' in A) ;

(9) A. 100.30 – S. 5.46 (Senāpatiguṇas) ;

(10) A. 100.31 – S. 5.47 (A reads 'dṛṣtāpadānā' for 'dhṛṣṭāvadatāḥ' of (s.) ;

(11) A. 100.32–34 – S. 5.48-50 (A reads 'vilambase' for 'vikarṣasi' in S (A reads 'bhartuḥ kupyanti 'duṣyanti' in 33 and 'samāhitāḥ' for sadā yudhi') ;

(12) A. 100.47 (half) and S. 5.79 (A reads 'Vārtāyām saṁśritastāta loko hi sukham–edhate' and S. reads (lokoyam sukham &c. ;

(13) A. 100. 53 – S. 5.36 ;

(14) A. 100.49 – S. 5.83 ;

(15) A. 100.56 – S. 9.104 (A reads 'adṛṣṭaḥ... lopād' for 'adṛṣṭaśāstra' and 'lobhād' ;

(16) A. 100-57 – S. 5.105 (A reads 'gṛhītaścaiva pṛṣṭaśca kāle' and S reads 'dṛṣṭo gṛhītastatkārī) ;

(17) A. 100. 65–67 – S. 5.107–9 (A reads 'maṅgalasyāprayogam &c' and S. reads 'maṅgalādyaprayogam'.

(18) A. 100. 62-63 – S. 5.19-20 (A reads 'prītilobhena' for 'prītisāreṇa' and 'sarvān varada' for 'sadā varada' in S.

(19) A. 100.72 – S. 5.110 (A reads 'saphalāḥ kriyāḥ' for 'saphalam dhanam' of S.

From this analysis it follows that out of 66 verses in which the word *kaccit* occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa 29 are almost the same as in Sabhāparva and there also a few half verses, pādas (quarters of a verse), which are the same but are not noted here. Another weighty criticism is that at the time when this *kaccit* chapter is supposed to have been addressed by him to Bharata, Rāma did not know that king Daśaratha was dead. It is after this chapter that Bharata tells Rāma (in chap. 101. 5–6) that after Rāma left for the forest the king died, being overwhelmed by sorrow. Therefore, some of the questions put in the mouth of Rāma are inappropriate and irrelevant, such as the questions about the honour paid to Upādhyāya, about Purohita, Mantrins, Senāpati and dūta. All these high functionaries had been appointed by Daśaratha himself. On the other hand, in the case of Yudhiṣṭhira, who was the eldest among the sons of Pāṇḍu and who performed the Rājasūya also (as described in Sabhā 33 ff), those questions were appropriate. I think the chapter (100) of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa is based on chap. 5 of the Sabhāparva and about 29 verses were almost bodily taken from the Sabhāparva into the Ayodhyākāṇḍa.

The Rāmāyaṇa is a Kāvya, yet, on account of the noble ideals that it sets up in the chief characters, it was very popular and is relied upon as a source in digests on Dharma, though not so frequently and profusely as the Mahābhārata. Vide for example, Dr. Bhabatosh Bhattācārya's paper on 'Rāmāyaṇa and its influence on medieval digests of East India' in Gode com. volume pp. 19–26. The following table will give some idea of the different topics of Dharmaśāstra dwelt upon by the Rāmāyaṇa. The references are to the Madras one volume edition referred to above (p. 52 n. 1).

Abhiṣeka–Ayodhyā 15, Yuddha 131.

Arājaka–Ayodhyā 67.

Pātakas (sins)– Kiṣkindhā 17–18.

Rājadharma–Bālakāṇḍa 7, Ayodhyā 100, Araṇya 6, 9, 33, 40–41, Yuddha 17, 18, 63.

Śrāddha–Ayodhyā 76, 103.

Satyapraśaṁsā–Ayodhyā 109.

Strīdharma–Ayodhyā 24–27, 29; 39, 117–118.

It must be stated that whole cantos are unauthorizedly added in some cases in the Rāmāyaṇa e. g. in the Uttarakāṇḍa after chap. 23 five *sargas* (containing 296 verses) are added. Five more are added after chap. 37 (containing 244 verses) and three cantos are added after chap. 59 (containing 145 verses).

Another matter to be noted is that not only are unauthorized verses added in the Rāmāyaṇa but here and there verses are repeated e. g. several verses in Ayodhyā 105. 4–12 and Yuddha 131. 2–10. It has been already shown that about 29 verses (with 'kaccit' in them) have been borrowed from the Mahābhārata. Moreover, several verses are common to both the epics (e. g. vide pp. 385–386 above).

The claim, put forward in the Bālakāṇḍa (chap. 2, verses 3–31), that Vālmīki, on seeing the Krauñca bird killed by a hunter, uttered a verse (śloka) that was to be the pattern or model for all succeeding poets composing poems in that metre, cannot be admitted as tenable. The Rāmāyaṇa as a Kāvya cannot be claimed on the available evidence as earlier than 300–200 B. C.

Quotations in the Mahābhāṣya lead to the conclusion that, centuries before Patañjali, works in the Śloka metre had been composed. A few examples quoted below will bear out this.[1]

Verses in the Sundarakāṇḍa [2] are of great significance on the date of the Rāmāyaṇa. Hanūmān is said to have pondered over the question whether he should address Sītā in Sanskrit used by Dvijātis (brāhmaṇas,

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1 It is Kielhorn's ed. of the Mahābhāṣya that is referred to :

(1) यदुदुम्बरवर्णानां (vol. I, p. 6);
(2) एति जीवन्तमानन्दः (vol. I, p. 277 on वार्तिक 6 on II. 7. 6), vol. II, p. 59 on वार्तिक 5 on III. 1. 67);
(3) तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्च (vol. I, p. 41) on II. 2. 6 and vol. II. p. 363 on V. 1. 115 ;
(4) सङ्कर्षणद्वितीयस्य (vol. I, p. 426);
(5) वाताय कपिला विद्युत् (vol. 1, p. 449 on वार्तिक 3 on II. 3. 13);
(6) दूरादावसथान्मूत्रं (vol. I, p. 457 on वार्तिक 2 on II. 3. 35);
(7) चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति (vol. I, 458 on वा. 6 on II. 3. 36);
(8) कालः पचति भूतानि (vol. II, 167);
(9) त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि (vol. II, 220 on वा. 9 on IV. 1. 48);
(10) महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा (vol. III, 288 on VII. 2. 23);
(11) सामृतैः पाणिभिर्घ्नन्ति (vol. III. 367 on वार्तिक 1 on पा. VIII. 1. 8).

2 अहमतितनुश्चैव वानरश्च विशेषतः । वाचं चोदाहरिष्यामि मानुषीमिह संस्कृताम् ।। यदि वाचं प्रदास्यामि द्विजातिरिव संस्कृताम् । रावणं मन्यमाना मां सीता भीता भविष्यति ।। वानरस्य विशेषेण कथं स्यादभिभाषणम् । अवश्यमेव वक्तव्यं मानुषं वाक्यमर्थवत् । सुन्दर० 30. 17–19.

kṣatriyas and vaiśyas) or he should employ sentences used by common men (vide note below). There is hardly anything to show that about 400 or 500 B. C. there was a vast difference between the languages spoken by higher classes and those spoken by lower classes. But a century or two before and after the Christian era great differences had arisen between the two as indicated by Inscriptions and literary works.

I cannot close this brief section on the Rāmāyaṇa without mentioning a work of outstanding merit viz. 'Thirty lectures on the Rāmāyaṇa' by the late Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (published by the Madras Sanskrit Academy in 1949). He does not deal with the Rāmāyaṇa in the spirit of a critical scholar. Questions of the date of the Rāmāyaṇa, the authorship of it, of the indebtedness of Vālmīki to others and of the authenticity of the present text are left out by him. He deals at great length with the principal characters of the epic and his language is moving, often charged with fervour and emotion and his exposition of the different incidents is masterly. He quotes a very large number of verses from the Rāmāyaṇa. In his exposition he is at his best when he deals with the attack by Rāma against Vālin from behind trees and the incident of harsh words Rāma used when he abandoned Sītā after killing Rāvaṇa (Yuddhakāṇḍa, 118, verses 12–24). His words are most eloquent when in the 27th lecture on p. 432 he says 'that is Rāma's greatness that he did not mind sacrificing anything to preserve Dharma. Dharma has many phases. What he (Rāma) thought was his highest Dharma, that he fulfilled and to that end there was nothing that he would not sacrifice'. It may be pointed out that the Padmapurāṇa (Ānandāśram ed. IV. 66. 28–29)[1] proclaims in two verses the virtues that the Rāmāyaṇa emphasizes by delineating some paragons of virtue such as Rāma, Sītā, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanūmān.

Though the Rāmāyaṇa is full of poetic passages, it often departs from Pāṇini's grammar. A few examples may be cited; 'Kurmi' (for karomi) in Ayodhyā 12. 36, 'ānayitum' (for 'ānetum') in Ayodhyā 19. 10 and 'nayiṣyati (for 'neṣyati) in Ayodhyā 12. 87, 'ruṣya' Ayodhyā 97. 12, 'Mantrīṁśca' in Sundarakāṇḍa 51. 37 (for Mantriṇaśca).

The Gujarati Press edition of the Rāmāyaṇa (in seven parts, 1912–20) contains three commentaries. A brief statement on these may be made here. Of the three the earliest seems to be the one called Bhūṣaṇa composed by Govindarājan of Kauśikagotra. He was a man of profound learning in the various branches of Sanskrit literature.

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1 यस्मिन् धर्मविधिः साक्षात्पातिव्रत्यं तु यत्स्थितम् । भ्रातृस्नेहो महान्यत्र गुरुभक्तिस्तथैव च ॥ स्वामिसेवकयोर्यत्र नीतिर्मूर्तिमती किल । अधर्मकरशास्तिर्वै यत्र साक्षाद्रघूद्वहात् ॥ पद्मपुराण.

Sometimes his commentary is very extensive (as on the first verse of the Bālakāṇḍa), but sometimes it is the briefest of the three commentaries (as on I. 75. 4, I. 76. 15). At the end of the Bālakāṇḍa he states that he had acquired fame by his proficiency in the Vedas, Śāstras and learned discussions and he had a keen intellect in Sanskrit poems, *Alaṁkāra* (Poetics) and the dramatic art. This writer confers different names on his own commentaries on the different kāṇḍas viz. Maṇimañjīra, Pītāmbara, Ratnamekhalā Muktāhāra, Śṛṅgāratilaka, Ratnakirīṭa, Maṇimukuṭa. It appears that Śatakopa of Vatsa-gotra was his guru and he was the son of Varada (last verse in com. on Yuddhakāṇḍa). At the end of his commentary on Sundarakāṇḍa, he states that he looked into several commentaries of former *ācāryas.*

As he quotes the Kāvyaprakāśa, the Alaṁkārasarvasva and the Vṛtta-ratnākara he is certainly later than the 12th century A. D. and most probably flourished in the last quarter of the 15th century. Vide an exhaustive paper on Govindarāja by the late Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in A. B. O. R. I. [Silver Jubilee vol. (1943), pp. 30-54].

The 2nd commentary is called 'Rāmāyaṇaśiromaṇi'. The author's name is not clearly stated in the beginning, though at the end of the 7th kāṇḍa the concluding verse clearly says 'Śivasahāya-nirmitireṣā'. So this commentary was written by Śiva-sahāya and he composed the commentary on the banks of the Triveṇī (Ganges at Allahabad) with the help of a rich patron called Vaṁśīdhara, son of Sītārāma, son of Todirāma. This commentary also is learned and very extensive on some verses. From the last verse (8) it appears that the commentary was completed in *Saṁvat* 1921, Āśvina-śukla 10 (i. e. 1864 A. D.). Thus it is a very modern commentary.

The third commentary is called Tilaka.[1] The concluding verses [2] of the commentary indicate that the commentary was written by Śrī Nāgeśa under the patronage of Rāmavarman. The idea of those two

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1 Introductory verse 6 of the commentary is 'नत्वा रामं शिवं साम्बं रामो रामप्रवर्तकः । रामायणस्य तिलकं कुरुते रामतुष्टये ॥'. At the end of the Bālakāṇḍa and some other kāṇḍas the commentary states 'इति श्रीरामाभिरामे श्रीरामीये रामायणतिलके आदिकाव्ये बालकाण्डे सप्तसप्ततितमः सर्गः'.

2 निर्मलं कतकक्षोदादपि रामायणार्णवम् । अत्यन्तं निर्मलं चक्रे रामः स्वमतिवाससा ॥ भट्टनागेशपूज्येन सेतुः श्रीरामवर्मणा । कृतः सर्वोपकृतये श्रीमद्रामायणाम्बुधौ ॥ The first verse alone occurs at the end of the Uttarakāṇḍa. There is a reference in the first verse to the commentary called Kataka. There is a pun on the word Kataka (name of a commentary and also the cleansing pot which clarifies muddy water or cleanses soiled clothes). फलं कतकवृक्षस्य यद्यप्यम्बुप्रसादकम् । न नामग्रहणादेव तस्य वारि प्रसीदति ॥ q. by कल्पतरु on मोक्ष (p. 64). This is मनुस्मृति VI. 67. There is a commentary on Rāmāyaṇa called Kataka or Amṛta-Kataka composed about 1650 A. D.

verses appears to be that the import of the Rāmāyaṇa was made clearer by the clearing cloth in the form of the intellect of Rāmavarman. What part other than that of a patron (who employed an eminent scholar like Nāgeśabhaṭṭa) Rāmavarman played is not quite clear. The opening verses of the commentary on the Bālakāṇḍa mention only Rāma as the author.

The commentary is learned and to the point and does not make an exhibition of the author's wide reading and scholarship.

As would be shown later on Nāgeśa (or Nāgojībhaṭṭa) flourished between 1670–1750 A. D.

Vide Prof. P. P. S. Sastri's paper on 'The commentators of the Rāmāyaṇa in the 15th to 17th century A. D.' in A. B. O R. I. (Silver Jubilee vol. 1943, pp. 413–414). He mentions the commentators on the Rāmāyaṇa mostly from South India, as the Vaiṣṇavas in South India looked upon the Rāmāyaṇa as the most sacred work on Viṣṇu worship.

In the Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya of Ānandatīrtha (Śrī Madhvācārya, 13th century A. D.), seven chapters (III–IX) are devoted to the Rāmāyaṇa story. In the first chapter he sets out the authorities. In I. 30 [1] he refers to the four Vedas viz. Ṛgveda and others, the Pañcarātra system, the Bhārata, the Mūla-Rāmāyaṇa, and the Brahma-sūtra–these are regarded as self-sufficient authorities. What does he mean by Mūla-Rāmāyaṇa ? It means nothing else than the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. In Sanskrit and the popular languages of India there are numerous works having Rāmāyaṇa as part of their names. At the end of chap. IX (verses 125–7) [2] the great Ācārya says 'through the grace of Viṣṇu he has declared this grand story, by reasoning and by the power of his intellect, after dispelling all contradictions and deciding the truth from all the Purāṇas, the works on Pañcarātra, from the Bhārata, the Vedas and the *great* Rāmāyaṇa. So here the word Mahārāmāyaṇa is used in the same sense as Mūla–Rāmāyaṇa, since in both places (I–30) and (IX. 125–127) it is the sources of the Rāma *saga* that are spoken of.

Mr. S. N. Tadpatrikar (in ABORI vol. V. pp. 61–68) refers to the word 'Mūlarāmāyaṇa' and starts a new theory that the Mūlarāmāyaṇa mentioned in I. 30 by Madhvācārya is different from the Mahārāmāyaṇa mentioned by the Ācārya himself in IX. 125. The only authority for

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1 ऋगादयश्चत्वारः पञ्चरात्रं च भारतम् । मूलरामायणं ब्रह्मसूत्रं मानं स्वतः स्मृतम् । I. 30.

2 इत्यशेषपुराणेभ्यः पञ्चरात्रेभ्य एव च । भारताच्चैव वेदेभ्यो महारामायणादपि ॥ परस्पर-विरोधस्य हानान्निर्णीय तत्त्वतः । युक्त्या बुद्धिबलाच्चैव विष्णोरेव प्रसादतः ॥ बहुकल्पानुसारेण मयेयं सत्कथोदिता । नैकग्रन्थाश्रया तस्मान्नाशंक्यात्र विरुद्धता ॥ IX. 125–127.

this is his interpretation of some words he quotes from the commentary Tilaka. The few words he quotes are not at all clear and do not support what Mr. Tadpatrikar mentions and further the commentator is no authority binding on modern scholars for the meaning of the words employed by the Ācārya in the 13th century.

The Rāmāyaṇa, being a Kāvya and an Ākhyāna (as stated in Dānasāgara, Introductory verse, 15, p. 3), it is sparingly quoted in Dharmaśāstra works. Dr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya in his paper on 'The Rāmāyaṇa and its influence on Ballālasena and Raghunandana'[1] published in J. O. I. (Baroda), vol II, pp. 18–22 points out that only one out of the four verses quoted from the Rāmāyaṇa in the Dānasāgara could be traced in the Yuddhakāṇḍa (chap. 18. 30 'vinaṣṭaḥ... rakṣitaḥ') in the Gujarati Press edition and that none of the four verses could be found in the Bengali editions. In another paper 'on the Rāmāyaṇa and its influence on the medieval digests of Eastern India' in P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume 1960, pp. 319–326, the same learned writer discusses the quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa in the Hāralatā, the three Ratnākaras of Caṇḍeśvara (on Kṛtya, Gṛhastha, and Vivāda), Kaumudīs of Govindānanda (on Dāna, Śrāddha), and the Rājadharma-kaustubha of Anantadeva. The Kalpataru on Mokṣa (pp. 25–26) quotes some verses from the Rām. Araṇyakāṇḍa (chap. 6.2 ff) with different readings. The Mahābhārata offers a great contrast in this respect to the Rāmāyaṇa, as hundreds of verses are quoted from it even in the comparatively early commentaries and digests like the Mitākṣarā and the Kalpataru.

It is impossible to deal with the numerous writings on the Rāmāyaṇa. Jacobi's German work on the Rāmāyaṇa has been translated into English by Dr. S. N. Ghoshal and published by driblets in several volumes of the Journal of Oriental Institute (Baroda). Numerous dates have been proposed for the Rāmāyaṇa e. g. the Department of Letters; Vol. 19 (Calcutta University) puts down 433 A. D. as its date. The Rāma story occurs frequently in the Mahābhārata e. g. vide Sabhāparva 50. 39, Vanaparva chap. 148–152 (31 verses), chap. 274–293 (verses about 769); several Purāṇas such as Brahma°, chap. 123 and 154, Padmapurāṇa (several times in Pātālakhaṇḍa and Uttarakhaṇḍa), Nāradapurāṇa, Bhāgavatapurāṇa (IX. 10–11 about 82 verses), Agnipurāṇa (chap. 5–12, verses 189). One writer in 'Preraṇā' monthly for October 1949 says that there are fourteen commentaries on the Rāmāyaṇa.

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1 It may be stated that the writer of this paper failed to note that the same verse is quoted by an earlier writer viz. Aparārka (p. 385 on Yāj. I. 211) and that Aparārka also quotes on p. 877 the verse 'इदं...विमलं दिव्यमक्षयम् । पितृलोकेषु पानीयं मद्दत्तमुपतिष्ठताम् ॥' (अयोध्या° 103. 27. Nir. ed.).

A JAVANESE VERSION OF THE PAÑCATANTRA

By

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

It has long been known (see J. Hertel: *Das Pañcatantra: Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung*, p. 339 and the literature cited therein) that there are extant in Java several versions of the *Pañcatantra* written in the Javanese language. The oldest of these versions,[1] written in Old Javanese, is known as Tantri Kāmandaka, Tantravākya, Tantricarita and Caṇḍapiṅgala. A full description of the contents of this version was given by C. Hooykaas in his doctor-dissertation (entitled "Ṭantri, de middel—javaansche Pañcacantra-bewerking ") in 1929; and later the text[2] itself of this version (which I will hereafter call Tantri) was published by the same scholar with Dutch translation on the opposite page in 1931. It is his opinion that this work belongs to about the same time as Durgasiṁha's *Pañcatantra*, that is to say, to the first half of the eleventh century A. D.[3]

The work begins, after the benediction *avighnam astu*, with five Sanskrit ślokas, each followed by its explanation in Javanese. Then comes the introductory story (*Kathāmukha*). The work is written in prose, and ends with the colophon: *iti caṇḍapiṅgala samāpta tantricarita tantravākya*. In the body of the work we find the colophons *iti ta vivāha prathama sarga*; *iti nandaka-prakaraṇa tantrikathā pūrvacarita*; *iti tantricarita sambaddha-sṛgāla-saṃsarga gajadrumacarita atat ucaraṇa caturta saṃsarga-carita*; *iti nandaka-prakaraṇa sambaddha-śṛgālāsana pañcamasarga* and *iti sambaddha-carita haṁsa-kūrma-saṃsarga udāharaṇa seṣṭi-saṁsarga* on pages 60, 74, 106, 110 and 116 respectively.[4]

As stated in the colophon, the work consists of the *Nandakaprakaraṇa* only. It is however said at the end of the *Kathāmukha* that, in all, 360 stories were related by Tantri to the king, ninety stories forming

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1 There are two other versions of this Tantri written in old Javanese, composed, one in Kadiri metre and one in Demung metre. There are extant two versions written in later Javanese also.

2 *Tantri Kāmandaka:* Een Oudjavaansche Pañjatantra-bewerking in text and vertaling uitgegeven door Dr. C. Hooykaas. Bibliotheca Javanica, uitgegeven door het Kon. Bataaviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. No. 2. published by A. C. Nix & Co. Bandoeng, 1931.

3 This work was completed on Monday, March 8, A. D. 1031; see my paper in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, X, p. 105.

4 We find no colophon that marks the end of the third *sarga*.

the *Nandaka-prakaraṇa*, ninety forming the *Pakṣi-prakarana*, ninety forming the *Maṇḍūka-prakaraṇa*, and ninety in the *Piśāca-prakaraṇa*. The last-mentioned three *Prakaraṇas* are not found in the book; and the first *Prakaraṇa* too contains 24 stories only and not ninety.

As pointed out by Hooykaas in the above-mentioned dissertation, the stories of the *Nandaka-prakaraṇa* of the *Tantri* are very similar to the stories of the *Nandaka-prakaraṇa* of the Laotian version of the *Pañcatantra* (I shall refer to this work as *Tantai*) and to those related in the *Pañcatantra* version (I shall call this *Tantrai*) of Siam (Thailand). A description of the contents of the former work is given by Prof. Louis Finot in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, XVII, pp. 84-116; and a translation of the stories in a version of the latter work is given by Dr. E. Lorgeou in *Les Entretiens de Nang Tantrai.*

Since the publication in 1929 of the above-mentioned dissertation of Hooykaas, there have come to light in India two versions or adaptations of the *Pañcatantra* which are closely allied to *Tantri*, *Tantai* and *Tantrai*. One is the *Tantropākhyāna*, published in 1938 as no. 132 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. It is in Sanskrit prose with some verses interspersed, and contains three Prakaraṇas: *Nandaka-prakaraṇa*, *Pakṣi-prakaraṇa* and *Maṇḍūka-prakaraṇa*. The *Piśāca-prakaraṇa* is lacking, and so is the *Kathāmukha* also. A description of the contents of this work is given by Dr. Artola in his article (pp. 36-41 of reprint) " Pañcatantra Manuscripts from South India" in Vol. XXI of the *Adyar Library Bulletin* and a fuller description by me in the Kannaḍa journal *Prabuddha Karnāṭaka*, no. 134 (1957), pp. 23-60.

The other work is in Tamil prose. A full description of the contents of this work is given in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* XXIX p. 74 ff. This version (I shall call this *Tantru*)[1] too is incomplete; it contains the *Kathāmukha*, *Nandaka-prakaraṇa* and the greater part of the *Maṇḍūka-prakaraṇa*. The other two Prakaraṇas, though mentioned, are not found in the only MS of this work that has come to light.

The stories of the *Nandaka-prakaraṇa* of these two versions too are very similar to those of the *Tantri*; so is the *Kathāmukha* of the *Tantru*. (See the comparative table in Appendix A).

Besides the five stanzas in the beginning, there are cited in the *Tantri* 72 Sanskrit ślokas some of which are Kathā-saṁgraha stanzas. These ślokas are all reproduced in Appendix B below.

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1 Tantri, Tantai, Tantrai and Tantru are the names given in these versions to the minister's daughter who relates the stories.

I now give here a synopsis[1] of the contents of the *Tantri*, based on the Dutch translation[2] of Hooykaas in the above-mentioned edition.

Synopsis

Formerly there was a king who traced his ancestry to Samudragupta. His name was Mahārāja Eśvaryapāla and his capital was Pāṭaliputra-nagara in the land Jambudvīpa in Śrī Laratanda. The country lay to the south of Himālaya and had many towns and cities. There flowed in it the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā; between the rivers lay a stretch of land which was named Pāṭaliputra.

The king was proficient in the sixty-four Kalās (fine arts) and in all sciences. He had strong arms, and his kingdom extended to the four oceans. All other kings bowed before his might. His lion throne (*siṁhāsana*) was adorned with many jewels and precious stones. His *purohita* (chaplain) and *mantri* (minister) had anointed him as *sakala-bhuvana-cakravarti* (emperor of the whole world).

One day, the king, after giving audience to his ministers, learned people, subjects, etc. was sitting in his apartment in the upper storey when he saw a marriage procession that was passing. The bridegroom was a *Śūdra*, and he was accompanied by his relations, men and women, who were making loud jubilant cries. The people of the city, attired in their best, looked on with interest and cries of joy.

King Eśvaryapāla who observed the procession and the jubilation reflected that there was nothing better in the world than being married. On the following day, he summoned the chief minister Nītibaddheśvarya and said: "Hear, chief minister, and you all my officers and ministers. There is no enjoyment better than the pleasure of the five senses and nothing that provides this better than marriage. When a *Śūdra* celebrated his marriage yesterday, the spectators were beside themselves with joy; people flocked to see it. How will it be when a Kṣatriya, and a Prince too of the first rank, celebrates his marriage? All people that look on will surely be overcome with joy. And it is one's duty (*dharma*) to cause pleasure to others.

"Hence it is right and becoming that I marry a young beautiful maiden every day so that it gives pleasure to the people and to me also satisfying the appetite of the five senses. Am I not still young?"

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1 The abbreviations SP, Pn and Du used below refer respectively to the Southern *Pañcatantra* (Hertel's edition, 1906, Leipzig), Pūrṇabhadra's *Pañcatantra* (Hertel's edition (1912) in HOS., vol. 12) and Durgasiṁha's *Pañcatantra* (synopsis in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, VI (1928), pp. 255–318).

2 There are many lacunae (in the text of the *Tantri* and) in the translation; they can be seen in the synopsis also.

"You must all attend to this; listen all, and in particular, you chief minister Nītibaddheśvarya".

The chief minister made a deep bow and said: "Your Majesty's order will be obeyed. For marriage with Your Majesty, we will bring to Your Majesty's feet every day the best of maidens. This your humble servant will give orders to this effect. But may Your Majesty pardon me. As I am the humble servant of Your Majesty, I shall of course procure maidens of outstanding beauty, well-grown. But this your servant has heard what is laid down in Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Mānava: it is said there, 'When a prince gives himself up to the pleasures of the senses, he will never find satisfaction, and as regards the enjoyment of pleasures given by women, he will surely become a victim to them. He will not supervise the doings of his subjects. What a king should be concerned with most is to destroy in the battle-field other princes who are his enemies or who do not bow to him, and to become the ruler of the world.' Such were the words of Nītibaddheśvarya.

The king said: "Chief minister, surely I too know the teachings and stories of Śāstrāgama. I too have heard what is said in the Śāstra, Itihāsa, Purāṇa. God Ardhanārīśvara makes himself present in the body of the bridal couple at the time of marriage, and at the time of consummation, God Viṣṇu and his consort Śrīdevī; all are present there. Such is the gain of the celebration of marriage. And what is the result? There is plenty of food (*subhikṣa*) in the land, rainy season of long duration; all the plants grow well and are fruitful. Therefore I will contract a marriage every day. Let all my subjects, officers, ministers, burgomasters, and in particular, the chief minister Nītibaddheśvarya, take special care to fulfil my wish, to bring every day a jewel of a maiden (*strīratna kanyakā*) to be married to me."

Then presents were given to the ministers, officers and the chief minister-gold, gems, clothes, etc. The requirements for the royal marriage were clearly determined in accordance with the prescribed ceremonial; and every day there was brought to the king for marriage a jewel of a maiden, young, beautiful, possessing all auspicious marks (*sulakṣaṇa*). The responsibility for procuring them fell most on the chief minister; he had to offer a maiden every day to the king after his men had found them. They had to be brought to the king-such was his order-clad in royal clothes and wearing gold and brilliant jewels. The brides were procured for the king from all parts of the kingdom. The king was particular that all his wishes should be fulfilled by his officers, by the chief minister Nītibaddheśvarya in the first place.

This state of things continued for some time until the supply of maidens of noble birth and beautiful in all respects gave out; there was no one that could be offered to His Majesty. One morning, after the

last suitable maiden had been given to the king in marriage, and the audience was over, His Majesty retired to his apartment, and the courtiers and dignitaries, among whom the chief minister came first, departed, each to his own home.

The chief minister, however did not enter his house ; he went into the chapel that adjoined the house. Unlike as in other days, his servants received no orders from him to set about their tasks. The minister remained in solitude and laid himself down to sleep in the pavilion without putting off his clothes.

All this was observed by his female servants who reported the matter to their mistress, the minister's wife Arirūpiṇī. She perceived that her husband was in ill humour and she sent for her daughter. The daughter, who was named Tantri, was most beautiful in all respects and was moreover as learned as Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. There was nothing in which she was not proficient. She knew well all sciences, all Tantras, the most profound truths, *tattvāgama* and *tattvajñāna* books on wisdom. Further she was fully learned in all profound truths (*tattva*), had ripe knowledge in all branches of learning and was clever with her hands (*hastakauśala*). This was the reason why the name of Tantri was renowned throughout the world.

Tantri came to her mother and made a śembah[1] before her. The mother said : " Dear child, the deity is glorified by you ; the god of learning has been honoured by my girl. Come and sit by my side, daughter. The reason why I sent for you is this : your father, the chief minister, has returned from the audience in the palace and remains now in solitude. No servant can approach him ; every one is afraid to go near him in his state of ill humour. And he lies there sleeping without having taken off his clothes ; such is his humour. I thought of going to him ; but it seemed to me that the time is not propitious. I am afraid that he may be angry with me. A wife should comport herself as described in the stanza, *sā bhāryā yā gṛhe dakṣā sā bhāryā yā priyaṃvadā* । *sā bhāryā yā patiprāṇā sā bhāryā yā pativratā* ; but is there one woman that can conduct herself on this pattern or observe completely even one of these precepts ? On the other hand it is also said, in the stanza *yasya bhāryā virūpākṣī kaśmalī kalahapriyā* । *uttarottarabhāṣitrī sā jarā na jarā jarā* that a wife who, is ugly and old and is quarrelsome causes disgust in her husband so that he wants to put her away. Such is the relation between husband and wife. It may come to an end or continue according to her defects or virtues. The relation with the daughter is as described in the stanza *nāsti vidyāsamaṁ mitraṁ nāsti vyādhisamo ripuḥ* । *na cāpatyasamaḥ sneho na ca daivāt paraṁ balam.* There is no love equal to that of the parent for the child.

1 Holding folded hands near the forehead bent in respect.

The reason why I sent for you, darling, is to ask you to go to your father and make inquiry about his ill humour; he will not be angry with you and I am hoping that his ill humour will be removed by you. Great is the love which one has for one's child. Think now, darling, do not delay; for if his ill humour becomes deep-seated, he will in the end become ill. It is said in the stanza, *dharmārambha ṛṇacchede kanyādāne dhanāgame* । *śatru-vidyāgnirogeṣu kālakṣepaṁ na kārayet.* This is the case with your father's anxiety; do not keep quiet but set the matter right." These were the words which Arirūpiṇī said to her daughter.

Tantri replied: "As you have entrusted the matter to me, mother, have no anxiety. I shall go now. Permit me to take leave of you." She then made a śembah to her mother and went to her father.

When she went to the minister, she found him sleeping with his face turned to the palace and his back to his house. Tantri went to him softly and sat at his feet. She took them up gently and massaged them. The minister became aware of it, opened his eyes and looked in the direction of his daughter. He recognised her and asked, "How long is it since you came here, girl? What are you doing, little woman? I have not sent for you, darling." Tantri made a śembah where she sat and said, "May it please you to accept this śembah of your daughter. The reason why I came here is to ask you the cause of your anxiety."

There surged up in the minister a flood of paternal affection for his daughter. He kissed her on the head and his tears began to flow and fell on his darling. He made her sit beside him and he said: "Alas! little mother, I shall tell you the cause of my anxiety. It is the wish of His Majesty to marry every day a maiden of great beauty and of high status. I am not now in a position to procure such a maiden for His Majesty; there are no more such maidens to be offered. This is the reason for your father's anxiety. His Majesty will naturally be angry that there is no bride that can be offered to him. There is the saying, *nakhinām ca nadīnaṁ ca śṛṅgiṇāṁ śastrapāṇinām* । *viśvāso naiva kartavyaḥ strīṣu rājakuleṣu ca.* I have thought over it and that is the reason for my anxiety. This is the last time that you see your father, apple of my eye; tomorrow will see the end of my life."

Tantri said: "I have been all attention; is this all that is causing you anxiety? I promise you that nothing will be done to you by the prince. Forbear with me in connection with what I am going to say. If it is appropriate, listen to it; if not, don't. What moves your daughter to speak is the desire to remove your trouble; and it cannot be therefore that I speak what is not suitable for my father to hear. What now is the matter? It is this. If your daughter falls into the category of those that can be offered to His Majesty tomorrow, then I would seek

to move you to offer me to the prince. It would be very fortunate if His Majesty, by hearing stories from books of Nīti and Śāstra were to begin to abandon his desire for marriage. Work for this, father". Thus spoke Tantri to her father.

The minister said "O girlie, I am truly overjoyed by your wish. Your endeavour to make the prince abandon his desire to contract marriage, by means of books of Nīti and Śāstra is fine. I now find the sweet fruit in my life. It is said in the stanza *agnihotraphalā vedā dattabhuktaphalaṁ dhanam* । *ratiputraphalā nārī śīla-vṛttaphalaṃ śrutam*; and I now have in my daughter the delectable fruit of my marriage."

The minister however expressed a doubt whether the prince would be induced to abandon his desire to marry by hearing stories from books of Nīti and Śāstra. Tantri persuaded him to cast away the doubt; and he felt much relief in his mind after hearing the words of his beloved daughter.

Tautri then said: "Come, father, have courage; go into the house and bathe. Dry clothes and other requisite things are ready so that you may make your choice; also unguents and cosmetics (*gandha-lepana*). There are also ready all things for the worship of the deity (*devopakaraṇa*)- flowers, perfumes, incense, rice grains (*puṣpa-sugandha-dhūpa-gandhākṣata*). Your meal too is almost ready. When you will have eaten your meal, His Majesty will have awoke from sleep; and when he grants audience and there occurs a suitable opportunity, you can lay your proposition before him."

The minister said, "Good; girlie; I shall do everything as you have said; you go now into the house." Tantri went back to her mother who was much comforted by Tantri's report. Thereupon she set about making everything ready for the bath.

The minister saw his wife Arirūpiṇī and then went to bathe. The servants came and cleaned his feet and body. After he had put on fresh dry clothes, his body was anointed with perfumes. He then put on other clothes, made himself ceremonially pure by sipping water, and offered water (*udakāñjali*) to Śivāditya with *mantra*. After the ritual of bathing was finished, he again put on fresh clothes and went to the shrine-room to offer worship; the first thing he did was to drive away *bhūtas*.

There was ready there everything required for worship—conch, flowers, perfumes, rice grains, incense, lamp (*śaṅkha-puṣpa-vīja-*

gandha-akṣata-dhūpa-dīpa). He offered worship to his favourite deity (*iṣṭa-deva*), reciting sixteen mantras.[1]

He then offered worship with the five kinds of honour[2] (*pañcopacāra*) including *naivedya* (offer of food); he then performed *japa* (recitation of *mantra*) and offered oblation in the fire-place (*kuṇḍa*) He felt much comforted and happy; his mind was calm and peaceful; and if he had not got to think of the king's marriage, he would not have come out of the shrine-room.

But the king's marriage had to be arranged and he therefore came out; but his mind was not now agitated.

Tantri took leave of her father. They were both happy and hoped that their plan would achieve success. Tantri retired to her apartment. The minister remained with his wife Rūpiṇī and refreshed himself with sleep. After he awoke, he sought audience of His Majesty in order to put his proposition before him.

The audience was granted; and the king asked him smilingly: "Well, chief minister, who is the bride tomorrow? Where does she live? What is she called, and who is her father? What have you to tell me?" The minister said: "Sire, there are no more beautiful maidens that satisfy the requirements to be offered at the feet of Your Majesty. If Your Majesty deems that she will do, the daughter of this your humble servant will be offered to Your Majesty. She is named Tantri". The king then said: "Good, chief minister; it pleases me much that your daughter will be offered to me in marriage tomorrow. I have heard from a long time of the superior excellence of your daughter. According to what I have heard from the pandits, there is none to compare with her in her accomplishments, in her youth and beauty; she is reputed to be well-developed, to have fine intelligence, to be clever in turning out beautiful work with her hands, to be thoroughly versed in Nītiśāsrra and other allied Tantras so that she is known

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1 The sixteen mantras that I have observed being used for the worship of the deity are the 16 ṛks of the Puruṣasūkta (*Ṛgveda* X. 90), one mantra for each of the 16 *upacāras* (modes of honouring), viz. *āvāhana, āsana, pādya, arghya, ācamanīya, snāna, vastra, yajñopavīta, gandha, puṣpa, dhūpa, dīpa, naivedya, nīrājana, mantra-puṣpa, pradakṣiṇa-namaskāra.*

The worshipper, at the commencement of worship, announces: (name of *iṣṭa-devatā*) – *prītyarthaṃ dhyānāvāhanādi-ṣoḍaśopacāra-pūjāṃ kariṣye ;* and he then recites the ślokas *āgamārthaṁ ca devānāṁ gamanārthaṁ ca rakṣasām* । *kurve ghaṇṭāravaṁ tatra devatāhvānalāñchanam* ॥ *apasarpantu te bhūtā ye bhūtā bhūmi-saṁsthitāḥ* । *ye bhūtā vighna-kartāras te naśyantu Śivājñayā* ॥ *apakrāmantu bhūtāni piśācāḥ sarvato-diśam* । *sarveṣām avirodhena brahmakarma samārabhe* ringing a hand-bell and drives away *bhūtas* from the place of worship.

2 The five *upacāras* are *gandha, puṣpa, dhūpa, dīpa, naivedya.*

as Tantri, the name which the pandits have given to her, to be popular and beloved throughout the world. That I have not already taken her for wife is due to the fact that I was afraid of your dissatisfaction with my vice (*durācāra*), with my marrying many wives, with my likeness to a bee that sucks honey from many flowers. I know that girls have an aversion to me; for a good man is usually described as having one wife as is said in the ślokas *ekā bharyā trayaḥ putrā dvau halau daśa dhenavaḥ* । *madhyarāṣṭraṁ ca sukṣetram asti ced ati sevyate* and *eko vāsaḥ pattane vā vane vā ekā bhāryā sundarī vā darī vā* । *ekaṁ mitraṁ bhūpatir vā yatir vā eko devaḥ Keśavo vā Śivo vā.* This is the reason why I was ashamed to ask you for your daughter in marriage ".

The chief minister Nītibaddheśvarya said: "O king, yours are very wise words. It is with satisfaction that I hear them; it is all very good. I feel from Your Majesty's exposition of the Śāstras as if a heap of jewels has fallen upon me, as if the highest bliss has befallen me. From your exposition of the Śāstras, you will be looked upon as admirable by the pandits. It is said in the śloka a *asaṁtuṣṭā dvijā naṣṭāḥ saṁtuṣṭāś caiva pārthivāḥ* । *salajjā gaṇikā naṣṭā nirlajjā ca kulāṅganā* that a prince who feels contented is lost. It is also laid down in the śloka *Indrasyārkasya Vāyoś ca Yamasya Varuṇasya ca* । *Candrasyāgneḥ prithivyāś ca tejovṛttaṁ samācaret* that a prince should follow the model of Indra, Arka, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Yama, Candra and Pṛthivī. Your Majesty has acted according to this precept and hence your might is unbounded. I am not going to say that I am unhappy that Your Majesty has accepted my daughter. I look upon it as great good fortune that Your Majesty has agreed to my proposal; I am very happy about it and I hope that Your Majesty will be quite satisfied."

The king accepted the Minister's proposal with great satisfaction; he gave him costly presents and awarded him several honours; he also gave royal gifts for the bride which included chowries (*cāmara*) of three colours.

The audience was over. The minister bowed low before the king, made a śembah and departed from the presence of the king.

On the next day, the marriage was celebrated with great splendour. The marriage hall was decorated with flowers of many colours and with precious stones that glittered when the sun shone on them. The king's seat had a canopy of gems overhung with sweet-smelling flowers. There were present monks that worshipped Śiva, those who worshipped the Buddha, Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, and many learned people, ministers and other dignitaries wearing resplendent costumes. The Brāhmaṇas and ṛṣis recited Mantras; drums (*mṛdaṅga, paṭaha, bherī*) were beaten, conchs blown and trumpets blared. The gods came from heaven to the scene of marriage.

The King bathed and put on royal robes that were resplendent with jewels. The Brāhmaṇas, the king's chaplain (*rāja-purohitas*) and other priests married to the king the lovely daughter of the chief minister, who was named Tantri. The king recited Mantras and offered three oblations (*homatraya*). He then sat on the throne (*siṁhāsana*) with Tantri. Presents were given to the people of four *āśramas* (stages of life), to Brāhmaṇas, to the priests (*purohita*) and to all notable people. The courtiers, headed by the chief minister, offered presents and received gifts.

After the ceremonies in the hall were over, the king went in a palanquin with Tantri into the inner apartment. Here too the arrangements for the wedding were on a grand scale and splendid. The retainers whose duties lay there, had all put on new clothes and made obeisance. After the wedding ceremonies were over, the king sat down for his meal. He heard the poems composed by the poets and (music ?) in the seven tones (*sapta-svara*). His Majesty spent some time in eating and then went into the bedchamber, sat upon the nuptial couch which was lavishly decorated, and took off his clothes. It was indeed the abode of the God of Love (Manmatha), and God Viṣṇu was present. All offered congratulations to the king and Tantri and departed. The king delayed no longer, but laid himself down comfortably on the bed and closed his eyes. Tantri massaged his feet continuously.

There was in the chamber a maidservant in attendance who was a humpback. Tantri pretended to be sleepy and asked her to relate a story to keep off the sleepiness. The maid replied that she could not do so and, said, " If Your Highness can tell one, this servant will listen ". The maid said these words because she had comprehended the prince's wish that she should move Tantri to relate a story. Tantri was in the mood to comply and began to relate the following story.

[End of *Kathāmukha*]

The ancestor of His Majesty, who belonged to the Ikṣvāku dynasty, ruled in the city of Pāṭaliputra. His kingdom was very large; its seven components (*saptāṅga*) were quite efficient; the country had the twentyfour qualities and the five kinds of forts (*durgasādhana*). There was plenty of gold and precious stones. The people were happy; they ate food of six savours (*ṣaḍ-rasa*) and had all kinds of sweet-scented perfumes, flowers and fruits.

In that city there lived a Brāhmaṇa who was poor. He propitiated Īśvara and obtained through his grace a bullock that was endowed with all marks that bring good fortune to the owner. The Brāhmaṇa did not know at first what to do with it. It is well-known that the gift made by Śiva in former times was a cow. He thought: " It is well-known

that the gift which Vasiṣṭha got from the gods is Nandinī. This fulfilled all his wishes and gave him milk. Now, here have I obtained a bullock. What am I to do with it ? " So thought the Brāhmaṇa ; and he decided that he would use it as a beast of burden to carry merchandise. In course of time, he amassed wealth by trading; and in addition to Nandaka, he came to possess many bullocks and became one of the foremost and wealthiest merchants.

One day, he set out with merchandise for the city Udyāni (Ujjayinī) in Mālava. His wares were loaded on a thousand carts ; they travelled over mountains and forests, over rivers and plains, and reached a forest near Udyāni. There was in it a swift-flowing river whose water was deep and clean and contained many fish. The forest was extensive and there were in it all kinds of animals, apes, monkeys, orang-utangs, gibbons, rhinoceroses, horses, elephants, lions, panthers, striped tigers and black tigers ; birds twittered in the trees.

This was the place to which the Brāhmaṇa had betaken himself and chosen when he had, beforehand, got on a horse and reconnoitred. He chose this place to rest in ; he pointed out a place for the loaded carts, where the terrain and the environment were suitable from the viewpoint of those who had to keep watch over the merchandise. That was the reason why he had set out beforehand. This was his invariable procedure when he sought for a halting-place for the night. The loaded carts had come and were stationed each in its place.

One cart however had not come, that drawn by Nandaka, the bullock with which he began. This bullock said to himself: " O man called Dharmasvāmī, by name only are you Dharmasvāmī; for you are a great doer of evil. Formerly, when you were poor, I alone was with you. Then you began to trade. It was my miserable lot to carry the commodity. The commodity was exchanged for rice, and it was loaded on me and was sold for gold. Thereafter you traded in all kinds of articles and travelled around in town and country. By means of this trading, you began to flourish more and more ; the two or three bullocks became a hundred. You have now a thousand carts, all loaded with goods. And yet you have not made it easy for me. When you go trading with carts, I must go also. I alone have the hardest task. You make a distinction between me and other beasts. You reason always that I am strong and accustomed and that none can equal me. The result is that I am loaded more heavily. Can such a person be called Dharmasvāmī ? You should be called Pāpasvāmī, for you do not act rightly". So thought the bullock in his mind.

In the meanwhile, the Brāhmaṇa was coming near; but Nandaka made himself appear as if he was dying. The Brāhmaṇa came and lamented over Nandaka. " How can you be so cruel and leave me !" he

cried. But Nandaka said to himself, " I am not going to die; I only seek a way to go away from him "; he made his body more stiff and his eyes more glassy and staring. 'Nandaka is dead' would think any one that saw him.

Then Dharmasvāmī was grieved and wept. He then called two of his servants, named Pinet and Teka, and gave them the following instructions: " You will stay here with Nandaka. If he lives, bring him to Udyāni in Mālava with as much merchandise as he is able to carry. If he dies, cremate his body and make gifts as in the case of a learned person or Brāhmaṇa. I desire that all efforts be made for the salvation of Nandaka. If he were to live, I would prize it greatly. But the wares that I have brought with me are of great value and they must go on in the carts. Watch carefully over Nandaka. I go now to the halting place; in the morning, we depart from there".

Dharmasvāmī then went away leaving Pinet and Teka to watch over Nandaka. Nandaka did not get better, but lay without movement. The two servants then conferred together; they decided that, since it was dangerous to stay in the forest which was infested by beasts of prey, they should rejoin the caravan before it had gone far, and report to Dharmasvāmī that Nandaka had died and that they had cremated his body with the help of a pandit who had attended to the salvation of Nandaka, and given him goods as gift. They then made a heap of the goods and set fire to it so that the smoke produced by it may be observable from afar. Teka's suggestion that the heap should cover Nandaka's body was negatived by Pinet on the ground that it would involve the killing of Nandaka which was as heinous a sin as the killing of a Brāhmaṇa.

The two then went to Dharmasvāmī and reported accordingly. He said: " Good, friends; the affair is finished. See that the carts move forward and not stay here any longer "; and he went along with the caravan.

The monsoon was active between the fourth and fifth months. Rain fell unceasingly for five days so that Nandaka remained alive. He was very happy and ate the grass which was fine and green on account of the rainfall. He was at ease and roamed on all sides in the forest in the vicinity of Udyāni in Mālava.

One day, in the course of his wandering, Nandaka came across a herd of jackals who were followers of the lion Caṇḍapiṅgala. The lion and Nandaka became friends and they were happy and joyful......they were destroyed by the wickedness of the jackal named Sambaddha, who was chief minister; he had set the two against each other.

Thus *Nandaka-prakaraṇa* contains 90 stories ending with the death of both Nandaka and the lion Caṇḍapiṅgala. Then follows *Pakṣiprakaraṇa*, 90 stories relating to the occasion when the birds sought to elect a king after the departure of Garuḍa in the wake of Bhaṭāra Viṣṇu at the time of the ocean......90 stories. Thus the number of stories is 390.

All these instructive stories are contained in three chapters, namely *Nandaka-prakaraṇa*, *Maṇḍūka-prakaraṇa*, *Piśāca-prakaraṇa*. They are all taken from the *Nītiśāstra*, as also the ślokas.........

Tantri said: "The king seems to be awaking when I am telling the story. Perhaps he is disturbed in his sleep; he is restless". The maid-servant then asked Tantri's permission and departed.

Scarcely had she gone, when the king sat up in the bed and said: "Tantri, I was so interested in the story that I feared to go to sleep. Not at all, my love; I have not slept even for a moment when you were relating the story. I wanted to enjoy it to the full and to listen to it; for you recite ślokas that are easily understood. Is there not more to relate, Tantri? Though my eyes were closed, I was delighted to listen to the story; it is really a means to keep off sleepiness. Continue the story.........

The king then made love to Tantri according to the precepts of the Kāma-tantra. Next morning, he gave audience early to the ministers, officers and courtiers and said: "In connection with my wish that you should attend to procuring me a bride, there is no need for haste...... The reason is my desire to hear Tantravākya. I was so much taken by the narration of Tantri that I could not sleep at all. I would like to hear the complete story, along with the ślokas of Tantricarita, namely, the *Nandaka-prakaraṇa*. The number of stories per *prakaraṇa* is 90 so that the work contains 390 stories in all. I want to hear the whole story. Therefore, until I ask for them, there will be a stop to the marriages. The arrangements therefore may be discontinued; but the distribution of food will continue for the delectation of the city and the enjoyment of my subjects". These were the words of king Eśvaryapāla.

The ministers and officers who were present made a śembah and said: "Your Majesty's favours to the world are magnificent; so also are those shown to the subjects, officers and ministers headed by Nitibaddheśvarya. Your Majesty's orders will always be obeyed. We, your servants, will do our best to act according to your wishes".

The audience was over. The king then retired to his apartment; he betook himself to where Tantri was. After he had bathed and put on fresh clothes, he went and offered worship including *naivedya*. Tantri too had to take part in his worship of the gods, and they two had

their meal together. The king then slept soundly. After awaking, he washed his feet and rinsed his mouth and offered worship. At night he had a sumptuous meal and went to bed.

Then came Tantri to him; she had to continue the narration of stories and then the two had intercourse as before. This is how King Eśvaryapāla's abstention from marrying came to be attributed to Tantri's learning. She satisfied all His Majesty's desires. He urged her to narrate the story, he said: "Tantri, continue the story of Nandaka and of the lion named Caṇḍapiṅgala." Tantri said, *vardhamāno mahān snehaḥ siṁhagovṛṣayor vane* । *piśunenātilubdhena jambukena vināśitaḥ*. The lion contracted friendship with Nandaka and associated continuously with him in the forest near Udyāni in Mālava. This caused his death and that of Nandaka also; the two were set against each other by the jackal, chief minister Sambaddha...

After Nandaka had recovered from his illness, he began to wander in the hills in which he stayed near Udyāni in Mālava. He was encountered by a herd of jackals and wild dogs that formed the troops of the lion-king named Caṇḍapiṅgala and the chief minister, jackal Sambaddha. The jackals were wandering in the forest in search of wild beasts that they wanted to offer to their lord Caṇḍapiṅgala. They caught sight of Nandaka and rushed to him in overwhelming number and wanted to bite him. Nandaka however rushed on them and they fled in all directions. They then went to their master, the lion Caṇḍapingala, and reported to him that they had seen in the forest a strange creature that attacked them. The lion felt uneasy on hearing these words of the jackals. But the chief minister, Sambaddha, laughed in derision and said: " I shall tell you a story ; listen.

[1. Jackal and drum]

Formerly there was a kingdom named Kauśāmbī; its king, Mahārāja Śrī Viṣṇugupta, was famous. He was attacked by enemies on east, south, west and north and gave battle to them. The battle was long and furious. The sound made by weapons and other instruments for killing as well as by drums and trumpets was loud enough to split the earth.

The enemies were destroyed and fled in fear. Hearing the uproar, I went to the battle-field and was pleased at seeing the corpses of the fighters. I was not however content, but wanted to find out the cause of the terrifying sound. I went to the thing that was making it and began to eat it. After I had eaten the lid, I found that there was nothing within.

When I heard the sound, I thought of all kinds of possibilities, of a great quantity of blood and fat. But when I went in, there was

nothing within; it was skin only. Therefore one should not feel fear at hearing a frightful noise".

[End of Story 1]

The jackal-troops then took their way to Nandaka and howled at him. Nandaka made himself ready to fight with his horns. The jackals were frightened and hung behind. The lion Caṇḍapiṅgala then came forward but not too near, and said: "Who are you? Why have you come to this forest? This is my dominion. I am the lion-king Caṇḍapiṅgala. I rule over this forest and all creatures in the forest pay homage to me. What kind of creature are you and why have you come here?"

Nandaka replied: "So you are the lion-king, named Caṇḍapiṅgala, king of the creatures in the forest near Udyāni in Mālava; and the jackals are your subjects. You ask me about my lineage. I am the son of Aruṇa, born to him and Surabhi and am thus the grandson of Bhagavān Sahasra-Valikilya. I am the mount, the vehicle, of Bhaṭāra Parameśvara. I have come here to see the forest of Udyāni in Mālava". Caṇḍapiṅgala then said: "So, Nandaka, you are no ordinary creature, but the mount, the vehicle, of Bhaṭāra Īśvara and of divine birth. If it is agreeable to you, let our relation be that of friendship; for I want very much to be friends with you. Do not be uneasy, I shall protect you". Nandaka then said: "It is not possible for me to contract friendship with you. Your food is different from mine. You eat human flesh while I eat leaves. How can there be friendship between a flesh-eater and a grass-eater? It has been said that there can be friendly intercourse between two persons only by reason of *dharma*, *artha* or *kāma*. Now here there can be no question of *artha*, for I am a wayfarer, nor of *kāma*, for I have neither wife nor child nor any relations in the world. Our intercourse can be only because of *dharma*. Numerous are the teachings of Bhaṭāra Īśvara regarding *dharma*. As his mount, I have heard him teaching them to the gods. It is also said in the śloka *tasmād bhumīśvaro*......that a king should appoint as minister a virtuous person in order to attain *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. It is also said in the śloka *tyaja durjana-saṁsargam.*[1]......that one should practice virtue and perform good actions day and night". These were the words of Nandaka.

Caṇḍapiṅgala said: "I am fortunate that I can have friendly intercourse with you, Nandaka; you have power to purify me because of your association with Bhaṭāra Parameśvara. You must reform me and cleanse me from my sin and uncleanness. It is said in books on Dharmaśāstra that while it is not possible to deflect men from following the path of *dharma*, it is possible to deflect people from committing sin. But one should not proceed with too much haste. As is said in the śloka

1 See App. B, no. 42 for complete śloka.

śanair arthāḥ śanair vidyā[1]......, one should proceed slowly in the practice of *dharma*. I shall therefore gradually give up my former mode of life". Nandaka said: "Friend lion, it is very fortunate that you will follow my words and act according to *dharma* and refrain from eating flesh..........." The servants who follow the king although he is inseparable from the bullock. He is not quite well. He refrains from the eating of flesh. When he is offered a prey, he does not get permi-ssion from the bullock, still less when it concerns human flesh. Finally the lion king is.........

"He is like the parrot that follows any one with whom he comes into contact" said Sambaddha, the jackal. The jackal-troops cried out together in one voice, 'We beseech you to tell us of the doings of the parrot'. Sambaddha said, "All right; I shall relate the story. Listen to it".

[2. The two parrots]

There was once a kingdom named Kauśāmbī-nagara. Its ruler was named Śrī Adhipati. The kingdom was so extensive that its marches on the east, south, west and north were a month's distance from the centre and from each other. These marches were governed by four officers named Pūrvasena, Dakṣiṇasena, Paścimasena and Uttarasena.

The crown Prince Gajadruma had four favourites named Vaka, Vilaka Varaṇa and Tilaka. After the death of Mahārāja Adhipati, Gajadruma became king and the four favourites persuaded him to put to death the four governors of the marches and to appoint them governors in their place. They were incompetent. The enemies, seeing this, invaded and overran the kingdom and Gajadruma was obliged to flee. He went first to the house of a hunter (*śavara*) named Nideśa. There was a parrot there which cried out, "St, St; what a stink are you making, what a stink!". The king then went away from that place to a hermitage. There was a parrot there which cried out: "Prince, please be seated. Shake off your cares. Come, revered ascetics; welcome the prince; spread a mat for him; bring him water for washing the feet and rinsing the mouth; offer him fruits and all other things that are available in the hermitage for making him at ease".

[The sequel is similar to that in *Tantru* I. 2; Gautama not mentioned.]

[End of story 2]

"The parrot of the hermitage spoke of the highest good while that of the hunter spoke as the hunter used to do. Thus strongly is one's behaviour influenced by association. Similarly the lion Caṇḍapiṅgala follows the example of Nandaka and eats grass. Do not however give way to anxiety. I will think of a scheme to break up the friendship between the two".

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1 See no. 45 in App. B.

Thus spoke Sambaddha to the jackals. He then went to Nandaka seeking a favourable opportunity to sow discord in his friendship with the lion-king. That was the reason why Sambaddha went to Nandaka.

When Nandaka saw Sambaddha, he asked him in a friendly manner why he had come. The jackal announced his name and said: "So, Nandaka, you are of divine descent, of the lineage of Aruṇa, a scion of Surabhi, and you function as the mount of God Īśvara. I am credibly informed that you are an outstanding person. I have also seen with my own eyes that you are not an ordinary creature. You have all the marks (*lakṣaṇa*) that indicate great might, that your origin is different from that of other animals. You differ from all those that live in the forest because of your perfection, of your perfect form. As is said in the śloka *ācāraḥ kulam ākhyāti*[1]......, I can know by looking at your body that your behaviour and origin is different from that of ordinary animals. I am but an ordinary animal; I do not know ways and means, nor the ways of the world as wise men do.

" The temperament of Caṇḍapiṅgala is like that of a dictator; he does not know how to feel respect. He has commissioned me to see and to report to him on your distinguished asceticism (*tapas*); you should know of this. You, on the other hand, are sagacious and can distinguish the qualities of strangers. Whatever the source may be, you take over good qualities and leave alone the bad ones. As is said in the śloka *viṣādapy amṛtaṃ grāhyam*[2]......one should take up what is good even from a despicable person but should not follow him in his way of life. This is what a wise person does; and the consequence is he becomes wholly good. One should give heed to good words regardless of their origin.

" Quite different is the course followed by stupid persons. They are so sure of their own superiority that they set up their own virtues as ideals. They do not listen to the words of others even when they are good, but give ear to words that are the reverse, so that, in the end, they lose their life as did the tortoise that did not give heed to the words, though they were reasonable, of the swans who were his friends.

[3. Swans and tortoise]

[Story similar to *Tantru*, 1. 3; SP. 1. 10: But the story speaks of two tortoises, male (named Durbuddhi) and female (named Kacchapā) and two jackals, male (named Nohan) and female (named Babyan). The latter calls the attention of the former to two swans carrying tortoises when flying. The former says that what the swans carry are not tortoises but balls of dung. Lake named Kumudvatī; the swans, Cakrāṅga and Cakrāṅgī, announce that they will go to Mānasasāra in

1 See no. 49 in App. B.
2 See no. 50 in App. B.

the Himālayas.] "There is no sense in holding the stick by the mouth when one cannot control one's tongue and opens one's mouth. They were put to the test by the chatter of the jackals and fell at last and were eaten by the jackals.

[End of story 3]

"The understanding of a sagacious person is different from that of the bug who listened to the words of the louse with whom he had taken shelter and who, in the end, met with death because the bug did not choose a favourable opportunity".

Nandaka asked Sambaddha how the louse met with death because of the act of the bug. Sambaddha said :

[4. Louse and bug]

[Story similar to *Tantru*, I. 4, SP. 1. 7. Bug named Caṇḍila; the story speaks of the death of the louse and his wife, and of the bug also.]

[5. Crane and crab]

[Story related by louse to bug. Similar to *Tantru* 1. 5, SP. 1. 5. Crane named Baka; lake Mālinī. Crane informs the fish that fishermen were making preparations to fish in the lake and that he could transport them to the lake Aṇḍavahana. No mention of Ilān and of the crane carrying him to show another lake. The crab compels the crane to transport him back to Lake Mālinī and there cuts off its neck].

Then in reply to Nandaka's question Sambaddha said : "It is to me only that the lion has expressed his dislike to you; no one else knows of it". Nandaka then said, 'It is apparent that this is quite like what happened in the case of Sevaṅgara'. "What was it?" asked Sambaddha Nandaka said, 'Listen, I will tell you'.

[6. Floating rock and dancing apes]

There was once a king named Sevantara. One day he went hunting with his servant Sevaṅgara and feeling tired, ordered him to bring some water and fruits. Sevaṅgara went in search of them but was unsuccessful in his search. He saw however an ape dancing on a black rock floating in the sea and told the king. The king said: "What story is this?" Sevaṅgara said, "You can kill me if what I have said is not true". The two went together to the seashore; but there was no ape dancing on a black rock. The king asked Sevaṅgara, "Where is the spectacle that you saw? Is there any other person who has seen it and can bear witness to it?" Sevaṅgara said, 'There is no witness; I was the only one that saw it'. The king became wroth and slew Sevaṅgara.

[End of story 6]

"Therefore, O Sambaddha, when no one else has seen it nor can testify to it, you can reveal nothing to any one, least of all, to a prince".

Sambaddha was ashamed and went back to the lion-king Caṇḍapiṅgala without having anything to say to him against Nandaka. Caṇḍapiṅgala then told Sambaddha of the wickedness of Pāpaka.

[7. Ape and ungrateful hunter]

[Story similar to *Tantru*, 1. 8 ; Du. 1. 12. Hunter named Pāpaka ; he kills and eats Mārdava and Mārdavī the two young ones of the female ape and the ape also. The ape was taken into Indra's heaven and her young ones into the world of Viṣṇu. Pāpaka went to the hell known as Vālukārṇava. There is no mention in the story of the tiger meeting the hunter after he had killed the ape and refusing to eat him, nor of the jackal that met the tiger and related stories about the wickedness of apes].

[8. Grateful animals and ungrateful man]

[This story is emboxed in story no. 7 ; it is related by the tiger to the ape. Similar to *Tantru*, I. 9 ; Du. 1, 13. Brāhmaṇa named Sājñādharma. Story does not mention that his first and second wives were adulterous. Goldsmith named Suvarṇaṅkara from Madhurā-Kling. Brāhmaṇa, when returning from pilgrimage, passes through the wood Kaṇḍavahana. After receiving gold and jewels from the tiger, the Brāhmaṇa goes to Madhurā-Kling and is welcomed by the goldsmith and his wife. The Brāhmaṇa gives to him the gold and jewels and goes to a tank to bathe. The goldsmith, in the meanwhile, tells his wife that he will show the jewels to the king and lay a complaint against the Brāhmaṇa. The wife tries to dissuade him from this course and tells him a story (see no. 9 below) to drive home to him that one should not be too greedy and that too much greed will lead to disaster. The goldsmith however will not be dissuaded but carries out his purpose.

The serpent (named Vidyutanana) finds an opportunity to go to the palace of the king (named Gandhasena) and to bite the prince Vīrasena. The king's attempts to have the prince cured are not successful. He implores his chaplain named Vedika to cure the prince. Vedika offers a sacrifice to the serpents (*sarpayajña*) ; the serpent Vidyutanana shows himself and declares that the only one that could effect a cure is the Brāhmaṇa confined in the prison. The Brāhmaṇa is brought out and cures the prince. The king gives him presents and has the goldsmith and his wife put to death].

[9. The ape that wished to become beautiful]

There was a female ape Murdasa who dwelt in a Jambu tree. She performed austerities (*tapas*) with ardour. The deity appeared before her and asked her what she wanted. Murdasa alias Anti said, 'I want to become beautiful like the Vidyādharī Anaṅgaprāṇā'. The deity said 'Follow the light of this jewel; it will lead you to a bathing-place. Bathe there seven times ; you will then become well-formed and beautiful', and then vanished from sight.

Murdasa followed the light of the jewel which led her to a spring of clear water. She plunged therein seven times and found that she had become well-formed and beautiful. She surpassed the Vidyādharīs in beauty. She then thought, 'If I bathe seven times more, I shall surpass Umā in beauty'.

She plunged again into the water—and found that she was an ape as before.

This was the evil result of her inordinate desire and evilmindedness.

[End of story 9.]

[10. Brāhmaṇa revives dead tiger]

[Emboxed in No. 8. Related by ape to tiger. Similar to *Tantru*, 1.10, variant of Du. 3.10]

[11. Brāhmaṇa, crab, crow and serpent]

[Emboxed in No. 8]

'A crab is better than a tiger' said the ape to the tiger. 'How is that?' asked the tiger. The ape said:

There was once a Brāhmaṇa named Dvijeśvara who came from Pātāla. He wandered in the mountains to fulfil his duty to serve the gods and saw on the mountain-top a crab named Aṣṭapāda in a state of utter exhaustion. He took up the crab out of compassion and said to himself, 'I shall take the crab and put it into water'. He pursued his way and found a resting-place near water. He let the crab loose, and feeling tired, he laid himself down to rest and fell asleep. There was a crow near the place where the Brāhmaṇa was resting. It had a serpent for friend; and it had been arranged between them that whenever the crow saw a person sleeping there, it should cry out, and that thereupon the serpent should come out of his hole and bite the person and cause his death so that the crow may prey upon his body.

The crow saw the Brāhmaṇa sleeping and cried out. The serpent came out and said, 'I am rejoicing, friend; I shall eat his eyes'. The crab heard these words; it felt that it ought to requite the Brāhmaṇa for saving its life and thought of a plan to do so. It said: "You, friend crow, and friend serpent, let me make your necks longer so that you may eat the Brāhmaṇa with ease and comfort". The crow said, 'I agree to it fully; make haste'; so said the serpent also. They both stuck out their necks readily towards the crab. The crab took hold of them on the right and on the left and cut them off with its claws so that they both died.

[End of story 11]

The tiger said, "As regards apes, they have other faults". 'What

is the wickedness of the apes'? asked the ape. The tiger said, 'Listen to this story:

[12. Ape destroys bird's nest]

[Emboxed in story no. 9. Similar to *Tantra*, 1.11 ; Du. 3. 6. The story makes no mention of the firefly].

"Such is the ingratitude of apes. Here is another example of the wickedness of apes. Listen to my story:

[13. Ape kills prince]

[Embŏxed in story No. 8. Similar to *Tantra*, 1. 12; Pn. 1.30. Ape named Garubu. Prince tells ape to keep watch while he and his wife sleep. Ape sees two green flies settling on them, the male fly on the neck of the princess, and the female fly on that of the prince, strikes at the flies with the sword and kills the prince and princess].

[End of story No. 8]

Nandaka said to Sambaddha: "Therefore it is better for one to contract friendship with a wise person than with a foolish one, in any case with a wicked one. See how the female ape with her two young ones met with death at the hands of the treacherous Pāpaka.[1]......

Therefore, Caṇḍapiṅgala, you should not be arrogant; for a cunning scheme which does not fail has a supernatural strength as effect. Listen now:

[14. Goat bluffs tiger]

There was once a goat named Mesa with a kid named Vivimsali. One day Mesa had migraine and went with her kid to the flat top of a hill to eat the grass and herbs that grew there. A tiger named Varaṇi which was seeking a prey came there and saw the goat. It said to itself, 'What is that animal up there that is hairy and horned? I will go up and see what it is'. It went up and asked the goat, "Tell me who you are that wander so freely in the hills. Do you not know that this is my domain, my forest? I shall......to the realm of Mṛtyu because you have come into my domain".

The goat said: "*vaśamaryamaletriyat saptaṅginghetrayobajah* | *mahapraṇahli lakinnah bahnihadbhūtahdaryante.* You do not seem to have understood what I have said. I shall therefore tell you. Whenever I can get them into my hands, I kill and eat ten tigers daily; for I can produce fire which is as high as a mansion (*prāsāda*) and scorches the sun. Now you are but a single tiger, but watch carefully. This is Jahni and reaches from the earth to the firmament. Even the trinity of gods cannot put it out. Look at this iron club of divine make

1 This passage is incongruous. Story no. 8 was related to Sambaddha, not by Nandaka, but by Caṇḍapiṅgala. See p. 77 above.

when I strike any one with it, it breaks him to pieces. You just watch it, tiger". The tiger however did not stay but sped headlong in flight. It had a friend, an ape, who saw it fleeing and asked, 'Why are you fleeing, tiger'? The tiger said, "I am fleeing, friend, from a beast that I came across; it has unusual might and is hairy and horned". The ape said: "It seems to me, friend, that you are speaking of the goat Mesaba and her kid Vivimsali, animals that were once my friends". The tiger said: "I do not want to contract friendship with her, friend; I want to get away from her. You can at any time climb upon a tree, but I shall have to remain below and die". The ape said, 'In that case let us bind ourselves together and go'. The ape bound itself to the tiger with a creeper and the two together apprcached the goat. Vivimsali was frightened at seeing them approach and proposed that they should flee. Mesaba said, 'Do not be afraid; you just watch'. She then said to the ape: "It is fortunate, ape, that you remember that you had promised, at the time when you had lost your bet to me, to bring me ten tigers. You have brought one only; bring it here, I shall eat it". The tiger heard these words and bounded away. The head of the ape struck a stone and was smashed; and the ape died.

[End of story 14]

Therefore, Caṇḍapiṅgala, you should not feel overweening confidence in yourself". The jackal then went to Nandaka and said: "Nandaka, you should not have overweening confidence in your strength; for even great strength goes under when cunning is employed. Listen:

[15. Elephant killed by sparrow and others]

[Story similar to *Tantru*, I, 13; Pn. 1, 18]

[16. Indra's parrot and death]

[Emboxed in story 15. Related by crow to woodpecker and other friends. Similar to *Tantru* 1. 14. But it is said in this story that Indra was displeased with the parrot for hiding itself when Yama was visiting, and cursed it so that it died. Indra was then sorry and went to Yama to ask him to recall the parrot to life].

[17. Garuḍa and tortoise]

[Emboxed in story 15. Related by frog to woodpecker and friends. Similar to *Tantru*, I. 15. But it is said in the story that the chief tortoise once asked the tortoises, 'What means have you, tortoises, to escape being eaten by Garuḍa when we make a bet with him'?, and then told them that they should station themselves along the seashore, one by one, each at some distance from the other and reply to Garuḍa. When Garuḍa came to tell the tortoises that he would prey on them, they told him that he could do so if he was able to win a race against them].

[End of story 17]

" In the same way did the strand -birds win over the Sea-god " said the frog. The fly asked, ' How was that ?. The frog said, ' Listen ':

[18. Strand birds and Sea]

There was a pair of strandbirds that lived on the sea-shore. The male was named Supnapada and the female Priyaṁbadā. The latter said. "Father of my children, what shall I do ? I have to lay eggs shortly. The sea strand is a suitable place for me to lay my eggs ". She did so accordingly. The eggs were swept away by the Sea-god. The strand-birds were grieved at the loss of the eggs; they went to Garuḍa and told him that there had been no fault on their part from the beginning. Garuḍa took compassion on them and spoke to Bhaṭāra Viṣṇu about the matter. Viṣṇu told it to Janasya who thereupon went to the place of the Sea-god and besought him to give up the eggs of the strand-birds. The Sea-god could not refuse and made over the eggs to Janasya who gave them to Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu gave them to Garuḍa and Garuḍa brought them back to the strand birds.

[End of story 18]

This was what the frog related. The green fly said " I have thought of a beautiful story. I promise that the enemies will be put down. Let us therefore go over what should be done; for one will get no result if one does not work for it.

[19. No milk without milking]

...so that the hunter had an eager desire for milk. He saw a Brāhmaṇa eating and he asked, " Revered sir, what is it that you are eating ? It smells so nice with rice and seasoning ". The Brāhmaṇa said, " Well, hunter, you ask me about my food; it is milk and butter ". " How does rice taste with milk and butter? " " If you wish, you can make a test yourself ". So said the Brāhmaṇa. The hunter ate of the rice with milk and butter and said: ,'Revered sir, do me a favour; I shall buy your cow. Is the seasoning that she gives good ? " " Best " said the Brāhmaṇa.

The hunter bought the cow and the Brāhmaṇa went away to another country. When the hunter wanted to make use of some milk, he tied the cow and besought her to give milk and butter. But he got neither milk nor butter; for he had not milked her.

[End of story 19]

This was related by the green fly. The woodpecker than said, ' I too will tell you a story: "

[20. Bird and ungrateful tiger]

Story similar to *Tantru*, I. 17. The bird in question is the woodpecker itself that is relating the story]

" This happened to the tiger. He was blinded by me and died in the end. We should deal with the elephant also in the same manner ".

[Here follows the latter half of story 16]

" Thus however big the elephant was, he died; his life came to an end through the instrumentality of the woodpecker, crow, green fly and frog.

" In the same way, Takṣaka too died through the instrumentality of the old people of the village ". " What had Takṣaka done ? " asked Caṇḍapiṅgala. The jackal Sambaddha said :

[21. Ungrateful tree, crow and serpent]

" There was a large country named Śobhā. In it was a plain which was unusually extensive. In the middle of this plain there grew a *śiṁśapa* tree named Śiṣyapa. It was on the point of dying because of the mischief of the young herdsmen who, in great number, sought its shade at all times and injured it. In consequence the tree put forth neither branches nor leaves, and it had no bark.

There lived a pair of crows on the top of the tree. The male was named Nīla and the female, Kāk. The crow said to the tree, " Well, Śiṣyapa, I would like to speak to you because you are suffering harm continuously. What are you thinking of doing in this connection ? Tell me." The tree said " Alas, friend, you seem to be concerned about my condition, about my being harmed by the young cowherds who foregather here in great numbers and inflict injury on me. I wish to make preparations to die, for this suffering cannot be endured ". The crow said " Do you think that it will be good for you, Śiṣyapa, if the herdsmen keep themselves away, if they do not come here ? I know of a way that will make you well-formed and grow high". Śiṣyapa said, ' That would be splendid; I wish it ".

The crow then flew away in search of dead bodies. He flew back with arms, legs, rumps, entrails and carcases and hung them on the branches of the tree. On the next day, when the young cowherds came there, they perceived the abominable stench and cried out: " What is this stench ? Let us not come here any more; it is very foul. They have brought dead bodies here. Do they want to make it a place for corpses ?" They set off at a run from the place and thereafter never foregathered there. In this manner, the tree Śiṣyapa came to bloom, put forth leaves and grow green bark.

Now the time came near for the female crow to lay eggs. She did not know what to do. The crow therefore said to the tree: "See, Śiṣyapa, all this time I have not refused you anything. I will lay my eggs here. It seems to me–I am afraid–that there is a dreadful animal here; you should not neglect to protect me". ' Right ' said Śiṣyapa. " Then I am

your best friend" said the crow. She then made a nest and laid eggs. She had three young ones and a cuckoo as the fourth.

On a certain day, there came a serpent named Takṣaka; he was very hungry for he had not been able to find food. The crows said to Śiṣyapa, 'You should not allow him here while we are gone in search of food'. When the serpent Takṣaka came there, he said to Śiṣyapa, "You may know, Śiṣyapa, that my name is Takṣaka and that I am a forest devil. I am now very hungry because I have not been able to get any food; if you can procure food for me, I shall requite you with my life and take you under my protection. I know that you are the friend of the crows, but their power and might is not to be compared with mine" Śiṣyapa said, 'if I become friends with you, can I really rely upon your word?' Takṣaka said, "Have you ever seen or heard that Takṣaka was a serpent on whose words one could not rely?" Śiṣyapa said 'It is good if you have got that pre-eminence.' Then Takṣaka said, 'I shall now eat the young ones of the crow', and after he had eaten the young crows and the cuckoo, he felt satisfied.

The crows however were greatly grieved that their young ones had been eaten by Takṣaka and that he was now a friend of the tree Śiṣyapa. A great mass of scrub had grown up under the tree and also thorns. The tree too had grown high and large, and the place underneath was like a place of corpses in the eyes of those who saw it. But the occasion for the fear of the people that passed by the tree Śiṣyapa was the treachery of Takṣaka. The reason why people felt fear of the tree was this, namely, that people died regularly because of the forest-dweller. There was panic amongst the people.

There was a sagacious chief in that region who was named Maṅgalya. He went to a hermit, told him the circumstances, and asked him what one should do to remove the panic. The sage (*maharṣi*) said "What you surmise is indeed right. There is a forest-dweller, a serpent named Takṣaka there. If you want to destroy him you must take a quantity of rice-straw, which has dried in the month of Āṣāḍha, heap it well and thickly on all sides of the tree and set fire to it".

Such was the advice given by the hermit and it was acted upon. The people in the villages near by gathered around the tree and set fire on all sides to the heaped straw. The flames rose high, and Takṣaka came out of his hole under tree Śiṣyapa and met with death. So did the tree too because of the doing of its friend Takṣaka.

[End of story 21]

[22. Crow and serpent]

There was a crow named Byaruṇḍi who had a nest in a *ranḍu* tree and lived there with his family. A serpent named Sitara lived in a hole

near the root of the tree. This serpent was treacherous and ate the young ones of the crow every day. The parent crows saw their family dwindling day after day. They held Sitara responsible for it and thought always of schemes to destroy him.

It so happened that one day a prince who was on the move felt tired and wanted to have a bath. His name was Vīraprāṇa and he had a following of retainers. When he had arrived at a spring, he put off his apparel and laid it on a *vajana-sedi*, blue-brown in colour. The crows that had their nest in the *raṇḍu* tree observed this. They flew from the tree, took up the prince's apparel and flew away with it to their tree. They were followed by the prince's retainers; and they let fall the apparel just near the hole where the serpent lived. The retainers let out a shout of joy and began to dig there. The serpent came out of the hole and showed himself and was killed by them. Thereafter the crows lived happily in the tree.

[End of story 22]

[23. The three fishes]

[Similar to *Tantra*, 1. 19 SP. 1, 11.]. The fish-brothers named Anaṅgavidūta, Pradyumnamati and Yatbāhaviṣyati; tank named Kusumabhuvana]

These were the words of Nandaka. The jackal Sambaddha then went to his lord Śrī Caṇḍapiṅgala and said: " Listen to my words. It does not matter whether I am young or old. I give the best; whatever it may be, if it is reasonable, it deserves praise. Whatever I say that is true should be acted upon, even if I am nothing. Examine what is good and what is bad; ponder over it. Take as example what the goat said to King Aridharma. I will tell it to you ". Caṇḍapiṅgala asked, ' What did the goat say to King Aridharma ? ' The Jackal Sambaddha said : " Your humble servant will tell it to you. Let my lord listen :

[24. The language of animals]

[Story similar to *Tantra*, I. 20. King named Aridharma, queen Māyāvatī; the reason why the king laughed when he was in the company of the queen was the conversation between a pair of lizards. Pair of goats named Baṅgali (male) and Vivitā (female). When the king, after making gifts of gold, jewels, clothes, etc. to Brāhmaṇas, *ṛṣis*, Buddhist and Śivāite monks, is about to enter into the flaming funeral pyre with Queen Māyāvatī, the pair of goats comes out from the scrub and Vivitā asks Baṅgali to bring her some leaves (?) from the funeral pyre. Baṅgali refuses. King Aridharma, after hearing the words of Baṅgali to Vivitā, draws back from the pyre; but Queen Māyāvatī and the goat Vivitā enter into the pyre and die as they had said they would. Though the king had given away all his wealth to Brāhmaṇas

ṛṣis, etc., the merit accruing from the making of these gifts works for the welfare of the king and his kingdom].

The jackal then said : '*nakhinām ca nadīnām ca*[1] ...... Such is the teaching of the wise. Your Majesty must be wary with Nandaka ; for his horns are long and sharp, veritable 'takers of life'.

Thus spoke Sambaddha to the lion-king. The latter then went to Nandaka with Sambaddha and his herd of jackals. These attacked Nandaka with loud cries. Nandaka was not frightened ; he thought, 'The lion Caṇḍapiṅgala is set on taking my life', and made himself ready to fight. Then Caṇḍapiṅgala fell on Nandaka. The two fought with each other and both died. The lion went to Viṣṇu-loka and Nandaka to Śivaloka.

The bodies of the lion and the bullock were eaten by Sambaddha and his herd. They ate until they could eat no more ; and they all died because of overloading their stomach. Sambaddha went to the hell Vālukārṇava Tāmragomukha.

[End of *Tantricarita*]

As has been observed above, *Tantri Kāmandaka* is the oldest of the three *Tantri*[2] versions written in old Javanese. The other two versions are in verse, one in Kadiri metre and the other in Demung metre. They may be said to be metrical versions of *Tantri Kāmandaka*; but *Tantri demung* has five stories that are not found in *Tantri Kāmandaka*. *Tantri kadiri* has seven, but four out of these seven stories are found in *Tantri demung*.

Here follows a résumé of these seven[3] stories, based on the synopsis given by Hooykaas in his dissertation p. 108 ff.

1 a. The cuckoo and waterfowls

In a big fig tree there once lived safe from men, three pairs of waterfowls, named Dirakanta and Tunggeli, Kalavata and Talakiti, Maratunda and Tunyatadina. They used to go out every day to catch fish for wife and children.

There was also a pair of cuckoos named Parada and Śubhanī ; they were much distressed because their nest would not endure. After long wandering, the cuckoos came to the colony of waterfowls. A waterfowl received them and made them welcome. He thought, 'they sing very well,' and they were introduced by Kalatunda.

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1 See no. 76 and no. 16 in App. B.

2 There are no less than twelve different *Tantri* versions extant in Java, Bali and Madura observes, Prof. Hooykaas on p. 8 of *Tantri Kāmandaka* ; of these, two are written in late Javanese, two in Madurese, and several in Balinese.

3 Hooykaas has not given a résumé of tht story of *Vasiṣtha and the death of his hundred sons* occurring in *Tantri demung*.

The waterfowls went out every day to catch fish. The cuckoos consumed their vegetarian food; but from their droppings there grew up luxuriant vegetation near the root of the tree so that the tree, which was formerly unclimbable, now became easy to climb upon. A land-holder who gave a picnic party under the tree observed the birds on it, climbed up the trees and took them from the nest. This was due to the fault of the cuckoos.

1 b. Wager between cuckoo and crow.

A gambler named Malīnāśraya is ill and on the point of death. He has great difficulty in getting sleep even for a short time; and he therefore wishes to give up.

Dūravṛṣṭi, a crow, follows him in the expectation that he will soon die and that he can then eat his corpse. The cuckoo Vāgvajra observes this and tells the crow that there is little chance of his eating the gambler's corpse, and that he has a better chance of eating the bodies of the two saleswomen who are following the villain with the intention of pushing him down a ravine.

The crow will not however abandon his expectation; and he makes a wager with the cuckoo. It is agreed between them that the loser of the bet should lose his freedom and become the slave of the winner.

The gambler kills the saleswomen and pushes their bodies into the ravine. The crow loses his bet and acknowledges that he is now the slave of the cuckoo. The cuckoo, however is quite disgusted with the nasty carrion crow and is glad to restore freedom to the crow on the sole condition that he should take care of the cuckoo's eggs and bring them up. The crow promises to do so: and from that time onwards, the cuckoos deposit their eggs with the crows.

2. Lion, lion's followers and camel

The lion Keśarī is friends with the crow Bitaka, the Jackal Darta(ka), and the camel Vitakṣa. In a fight with an elephant, the lion is wounded so that he is unable to hunt animals and prey on them. He is therefore without food and hungry.

The jackal and crow confer together. The jackal opines that as there can be no friendship between a Brāhmaṇa and a Caṇḍāla (out-caste), similarly there can be none between a flesheater and a grass-eater. He expresses this opinion to the lion and advises that he should eat the camel. The lion rejects the advice and says that it would be shameful on his part to eat the camel.

The crow however thinks of a plan that will bring about this object. With words of heart-felt sympathy, he proposes that the lion should eat him and assuage his hunger. The lion says that the crow's body is too small and turns down the proposal. The jackal then makes a

similar proposal and receives a similar reply. The camel then says that the lion should kill and eat him; the lion agrees, kills and eats the camel.

3. Two toddy-tappers adjudge dispute between two apes

In Madhurā there were two toddy-tappers named Surada and Valacit. One day they met in Agamyavana with two apes, that were quarrelling. They were Puruṣāvak the big fat *lutung*, and Śīghragama, the thin small *wrē* who formerly had been close friends. There was now a hot dispute between them in respect of the meaning of two words *gadung* and *viwana*. One ape held that the two words signified the same thing while the other insisted that they signified different things. The dispute was hot and furious; and the two at last agreed that it should be submitted to judgement of a third party, to wit, the two toddy-tappers and that the ape against whom the decision went should forfeit his life.

Surada, who is older than Valacit, opines that it is better that the dispute should be decided in a court of law. He is however persuaded by Valacit to act as one of the judges. The two toddy-tappers decide unjustly against Puruṣāvak, the big fat *lutung*, whom they kill and whose flesh, they and their wives and children, eat with relish.

The soul of Puruṣāvak goes to heaven and is welcomed by Vidyādharas and Vidyādharīs,

Surada falls upon a stone and receives a fatal wound from his tapping knife; and Valacit is bitten by a snake and dies. Their souls go to hell and are tormented by the servants of Yama.

4. Dissension between lion and forest

After the burning of the forest Aṇḍakavana, the lion Nīlamoro goes to dwell in another forest. One day he prepares to spring on a deer named Mṛgalohinī but it takes refuge in the bush and escapes. The lion blames the forest for the contretemps. The forest is angry and says, 'I shall see to it that you are killed when you go out.' The Lion is seen by the chief of the village when it goes out. He organises a hunting party and the lion is killed.

The forest too fares no better; it is cut down and rice is grown on the land.

5. Tortoise, crow, mouse and deer

The dear Kandaguna, crow Igata, and mouse Hiraṇyākṣa are friends, To them comes fleeing the deer Tiṅggapa. They were thus five (sic).

The hunter Aṣṭakrama spreads nets. The dove saw it and said, 'Come friends; let us all fly up at the same time taking up the net with

us'. They do so and fly a mile and then come down near a pool. Hiraṇyākṣa sees that his friend is caught in the net, cuts it and frees him. Thus all the birds are freed from the net and the hunter is discomfitted by the loss of his net.

The next day he plans to dig out the hole of the mouse and catch him. The crow hears of it and hastens to the hole of the mouse and makes as if it were eating the mouse. The hunter comes and sees this and is baulked in his intention to dig out the hole. He sees the crow busy in eating the carcase of the mouse; he does not know the seven tricks of the crow.

The mouse cuts free the deer who is caught in the net. The tortoise was caught by the hunter and placed near the bank of the pool. The three friends, mouse, crow and deer, think out a plan. The deer lay down as if it were dead and the crow sat upon it pretending to peck at its eyes. The hunter ran up to them. In the meanwhile, the mouse cuts off the bonds of the tortoise and sets it free. [The tortoise escaped into the water of the pool, the deer bounded off and the crow flew away]. The hunter returned home with empty hands.

6. *The mouse and serpent*

Story similar to *Tantra*, II. 3.

7. *One cannot escape one's fate*

Story similar to *Tantra*, I. 19. Thief named Batur Taskara. The corpse says to the thief that he is destined to meet with his death in Pāṭaliputra in the month of Bhādrapada. The girl whom the thief marries is the reincarnation of the person whose corpse tells the thief of his destiny,

APPENDIX A

The table given below shows the correspondence between the stories of the Tantri, Tantai, Tantru Tantropākhyāna (Tantro) and Tantrai, Sp, Du and Pn.

Tantri stories	Tantai	Tantru	Tantro	Tantrai	Sp	Du	Pn
Kathā-mukha : Tantri relates stories every night.	KM	KM	—	KM	—	—	—
Nandaka-prakaraṇa : frame story-Lion and bull.	I Frame	I Frame	I Frame	20	I Frame	I Frame	I Frame
1. Jackal and drum	1.1	1.1	1.1	32	1.1	1.4	1.1
2. Two parrots	1.2	1.2	1.2	36	—	1.14	1.29
3. Swans and tortoise	1.3	1.3	1.3	37	1.10	1.22	1.16
4. Louse and bug	1.4	1.4	1.4	33	1.7	1.15	1.10
5. Crane and crab	1.5	1.5	1.5	51	1.5	1.10	1.6
6. Floating rock and dancing apes	2.6	2.6	—	—	—	—	—
7. Ape and ungrateful hunter	1.8	1.8	1.8	43	—	1.12	—
8. Grateful animals and ungrateful man.	1.9	1.9	1.9	44	—	1.13	1.9

Tantri stories	Tantai	Tantru	Tantro	Tantrai	Sp	Du	Pn
9. Ape wants to become beautiful	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10. Brāhmaṇa revives dead tiger :	1.10	1.10	1.10	45	—	3.10	—
11. Brāhmaṇa, crab, crow and serpent	—	—	3.7	—	—	5.3	—
12. Ape destroys bird's nest	1.11	1.11	1,11	47	—	3.6	4.19
13. Stupid ape kills prince	1.12	1.12	1.12	46	—	—	1.30
14. Goat bluffs tiger	—	—	3.6	—	—	—	—
15. Elephant killed by sparrow, crow, frog, etc,	1.13	1.13	1.13	—	—	—	1.18
16. Indra's parrot	1.14	1.14	1.14	52	—	—	—
17. Race between Garuḍa and tortoise	1.15	1.15	1,15	—	—	—	—
18. Strand-birds and sea	1.7	1.7	1.7	42	1.9	1.21	1.15
19. No milk without milking	1.16	1.16	1.16	—	—	—	—
20. Bird and ungrateful tiger	1.17	1.17	1.17	—	—	—	—
21. Ungrateful tree, crow and serpent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
22. Crows and serpent	—	—	—	—	1.4	1.9	1.5
23. Three fishes	1.19	1.19	1.19	49	1.11	1.25	1.17
24. The king who knew the language of animals	1.20	1.20	1.20	18	—	—	—

APPENDIX B

Sanskrit stanzas cited in the Tantri.

As already observed above, there are cited in the Tantri a number of Sanskrit stanzas, each followed by its explanation in Javanese. These stanzas have all been consecutively numbered by Hooykaas in his edition of the work and are reproduced here below.

The stanzas, as cited in the Tantri, are corrupt, some of them very much so. Hooykaas however has given the original forms of 36 ślokas in his edition ; these too are reproduced below with slight alterations in some ślokas.

In a paper published in the *I(ndian) H(istorical) Q(uarterly)*, XIII p. 506 ff., I have given the original forms of five stanzas. I have also found that the *Tantropākhyāna* contains 13 stanzas which correspond to those of the Tantri and have not, so far been found in other Pañca. versions. These stanzas too are reproduced below in italic type.[1] Some of them have so little in common with the corrupt readings of the *Tantri* that one may well doubt if the latter are really corruptions of the former. I have therefore added in such cases the Dutch translations of Hooykaas in the hope that they will help to remove such doubts.

1 asabdaśāstram ahāwidhiwya ya promaṇa
wastum angcan giva sanantare
wanduṁ iccat batang
hastinam kamaladantani

śabdaśāstram anadhītya yaḥ pumān
vaktum icchati vacaḥ sabhāntare ।
banddhum icchati vane madotkaṭaṁ
hastinaṁ kamalatantunā hi saḥ ॥

2 sahewam pāpawinyaśa ptayewākṣarāpatah
punggipunggi wiśeṣaṇam kapika Sarasvatī

3 arantaskarayambaddha sādhu-bhiṣama-sangamāt
hṛdayāntaryāmahsaggam tāskrawapi arantyānti

4 brāhmaṇanang wiku darti naranang jayakāraṇam
anemasarwawiddhyatwam tāntrowākyatikatyante

5 kwanta mapa atmanam maparod mahātyāpi
taya mene manāswinyā lakṣyama ta suddhadhipah
kalatravantam ātmānam avarodhe mahatya api
tayā mene mansvinya lakṣmyā ca vasudhādhipaḥ
Raghuvaṁśa 1. 32

6 Swana Urwā n pi Tilottamā bhadrewa strīr iwa manom
waram dananira kapita deva-kanyakā

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1 The transliteration, as given by the author, has been retained here.
—Ed.

7 adigyakamidhāśāstri narojñatāsyatitmanah
dharmohadeśawināyam arya-arya sunāsunam
adhītyedaṃ yathāśāstraṃ naro jānāti sattamaḥ
dharmopadeśavikhyātaṃ kāryākāryaṃ sabhāsubham
See IHQ 17,508

8 nūpakśuddha manah taryak wiwāho nephalaśita
raṇanamon ṛpahatwam mediparirākṣaham

9 kalatrasantam atmanam maparode ma hātyapi
taya mene manyāswinya laṅkṣyepa maśuddhadhipah
= no. 5 above

10 wiwāho pārwavbhiśaśca śayanetripupurobbhawet
tasmāt mantrigaṇa śeṣṭam wiwāho na bhawo matah.

11 ākāre nginggita jñeyaḥ ścaśwayana anenañ ca
netra-waktra-vikereṇa śṛhyate n ta manah
ākārair iṅgitair gatyā ceṣṭayā bhāṣaṇena ca
netra-vaktra-vikāreṇa gṛhyate ntargataṁ manaḥ
See Indian Historical Quarterly, XVII, p. 509

12 sa karya ya grhe daksah asa bharya ya prinambadah
... ... sa bharya ya patibrata
sā bhāryā yā gṛhe dakṣā sā bhāryā yā prīyaṁvadā
sā bharyā yā patiprāṇā sā bhāryā yā pativratā
See ibid. p. 512

13 yasya bhāryāwirūpakṣi tasmāt lihaliha priyam
uttarottarawanginya sā jarā na jarā jāra
yasya bhāryā virūpākṣī kaśmalī kalahapriyā
uttarottaravādā ca sā jarā na jarā jarā
See ibid. p. 510

14 nasti widyāsama mitra nasti wyādhisama ripu
nawe dyakama sneha na sā dewa parāśwalam
nāsti vidyāsamam mitraṁ nāsti vyādhisamo ripuḥ
na cāpatyasamaḥ sneho na daivāt ca paraṁ balam

15 kanyadhanajanamdhanah dharmārambhanacede
śatruwidyāgniyogya kālakṣepo na kārayet
kanyādāne dhanāgame dharmārambha ṛnacchede
śatruvidyāgnirogeṣu kālakṣepam na kārayet
Pāda b should be read first and then pāda a.

16 nawinañ ca nākīwañ ca śranginām bastrawāninam
wiśośva ning paganatanam strikulajana kuśudham
nakhināṁ ca nadīnāṁ ca śṛṅgiṇāṁ śastrapāṇinām
viśvāso naīva kartavyaḥ strīṣu rājakuleṣu ca

17 agnihotraphala veddhah dantābhuktiphala dhanam
rātriputraphala nari śilam brahmaphalam śrutam

agnihotraphalā vedāḥ dattabhuktaphalam dhanaṁ
ratiputraphalā nārī śīlabrahmaphalaṁ śrutam
See ibid. p. 508

18 enaping suputrinam wīdyayukte puruṣena
kulapuruṣasinghona candrane wa rakasyaste
ekenāpi suputreṇa vidyāyuktena puruseṇa
kulaṁ puruṣasiṁhena candreṇeva prakāśyate

19 śarwaridipako candraṅ ... ...
tryelokyadipako dharmah suputrā kuladiwada
śārvarīdīpakaś candraḥ prabhātedīpako raviḥ
trailokyadīpako dharmaḥ suputraḥ kuladīpakaḥ
See IHQ, 17, 512.

20 ekānawāṇawṛ puspitenā sugandhinam
waścitātwatwanaśatwam suputreṇa kulālatah
ekenāpi suvṛkṣeṇa puṣpitena sugandhinā
vāsitaṁ tad vanaṁ sarvaṁ suputreṇa kulaṁ yathā

21 prayahikamudatanam nañcanekināthanam
phalatarumuditanam rātnamaham pi kapinam

22 asurabhimuditanā kartanda sūkaramanam
yaningrawatikaranam yatprāyataṇkawiśen

23 ika reh ning sango astah sarawa pung dadi pawat
wāk suddha bhāraparyanta winiwariwarikeccarah
... ... śarāva-ruddha-dīpavat
... ... vinivāritagocaraḥ

24 wiwāhom tyaja rājendra stūnān tantrowākya nyatam
masur arogyameswarya tambiṣṭamawiyawayet
vivāham tyaja rājendra strīṇām tantravākyam jñātam
asur ārogyam aiśvaryam ... ...

25 eka bhārya trayo patrāh dwekalo ndaka nenatah
madhyarāsṭrām tu saksetrah matyanamāti seratah
ekā bhāryā trayaḥ putrāḥ dvau halau daśa dhenavaḥ
madhyarāṣṭraṁ tu sukṣetram asti ced ati sevyate

26 ekopasah patanana ekanya wasajapriyah
komitra bhramapewirdwa nerke devahkeśawoñca
eko vāsaḥ pattane vā vane vā
ekā bhāryā sundarī vā darī vā
eko mitraṃ bhūpatir vā yatir vā
eko devaḥ keśavo vā śivo vā

See ibid. p. 512, and Hooykaas' translation on p. 49 l. c.

27 agamadewa rājanaḥ śruyantero rajāpwajaḥ
nisanggihandiri dranam pratyakṣa nārakavi bhuh

28 asantuptam dwija naṣṭāh santuṣṭā sāmanggapatih
salaja ganina naṣṭā nilaja duṣkalangśaṇam

asaṁtuṣṭā dvijā naṣṭāḥ saṁtuṣṭāś caiva pārthivāḥ
salajjā gaṇikā naṣṭā nirlajjā ca kulāṅganā

See ibid. p. 508.

29 Indrasya karyaṭasvaśca guha Śakrasya Wayośca
Yamasya wa Warunasya sśam Candrāditya Cakratiśca
Indrasyārkasya Vāyoś ca Yamasya Varuṇasya ca
Candrasyāgneḥ pṛthivyāś ca tejovṛttam nṛpaś caret

30 wayet wṛkulajamprajñah wirupam api kanyakām
rūpāpi kantunikañca wāwewahyabhrasangkuru
varayet kulajāṃ prājño virūpām api kanyakām
rūpaśīlāṃ na nīcasya vivāhaḥ sadṛśe kule

See ibid. p, 511.

31 yowanekalasangpattih prasūtvam awiwehitah
ekekapwanakwayah kim uhyatrah satuṣṭāyam
yauvanam dhanasaṁpattiḥ prabhutvam avivekitā
ekaikam apy anarthāya kimu yatra catuṣṭayam

See ibid. p, 511.

32 a jaśca mukato wedya gate medyatu sarwatah
brahmaṇā paṇato na medya striyo medya tu sarwatah
ajāś ca mukhato medhyā gavo medhyās tu pṛṣṭhataḥ
brāhmaṇāḥ pādato medhyāḥ striyo medhyās tu sarvataḥ

33 walāstrimnaktikatunda ṛṣiñam ca kamaṇḍalu
śotamauḍalatambulām bheṣṭimusṭajayante

34 walañcyalakṣirecisṭān kṣisśisṭāntana watsangke
puṣṭāmbhramarām uccuiswa candramā śaśa lāñchanaḥ
jalam vyālakair ucchiṣṭam kṣīram ucchiṣṭam vatsakaiḥ
puṣpā bhramarair ucchiṣṭāḥ candramā śaśa lāñchanaḥ

35 sambugatrani śuddhante manah śuddhena śuddhyante
weddhyatahesya bratatma buddhi janeka kandyante
adbhir gātrāṇi śudhyante manaḥ satyena śudhyati
vidyātapobhyām bhūtātmā buddhir jñānena śudhyati

36 īśwarānām mahāśatram prayonot sukhyam awahet
taṭhāsthirānca carite nītimārgapranāśaṇah
īśvarāṇām idaṃ tantraṃ prāyeṇautsukyam āvahet
yatas tiraścāṃ caritair nītimārgaḥ pradarśyate

See Tantro. 2 in p. 82.

37 suwarṇa maṇi tamrangśa wigangkiwipūdurgamam
śacijawyawehanwita japewa pabyarājāni

38 wadwamano maha smoha singhāsya mṛṣabhārvane
mināmañconalunenah jambukonāwibhangāṇa
vardhamāno mahān snehaḥ siṁhagovṛṣayor vane
piśunenātilubdhena jambukena vināśitaḥ

39 krutewastumula śabda smatyehamedamekṛtam
anupratinya jānami ya ta cārmā dara rūpā
śrutvaiva tumulaṃ śabdaṃ manyehaṃ medasā kṛtam
antaḥ praviśya jānāmi yathā carma ca dāru ca
Tantro. 4

40 dharmārthakāmasayogam yasmād evam trayam na syat
nāthawahṣewapadatah ... ...

41 sūra Sāraswatī Lakṣmī ityetramedaśakaraṇam
sahegam puruṣottama ... ...

42 tasmāt bhūmīśware matye dharmārthakāma siddhayet
guṇāwanāt niyañcitta guṇahīnam tu ta jayet
tasmād bhūmīśvaro 'mātyaṃ dharmakāmārthasiddhaye
guṇavantaṃ niyuñjīta gunahīnaṃ tathā tyajet
See IHQ. 17, p. 510.

43 tyaja durjana–sangsargam bhagyam sādusamāgamam
kuru puṇyam ahorātram ... ...
tyaja durjana–saṁsargaṁ bhaja sādhusamāgamam
kuru puṇyam ahorātraṁ smara nityam anityatām

44 dharmaśāśtrārita kuryāt sitalambi tapā kuryāt
tasya-tasya muhūrtasya āyur bhāwati niścayaḥ

45 sanorrattasadewidya sameparwatamalinam
panneyoteghnadharmaśca pwa ya meśwaṣanesaneh
śanair arthāḥ śanair vidyā śanaiḥ parvatam āruhet
śanaiḥ kāmaś ca dharmaś ca pañcaitāni śanaiḥ śanaiḥ
See ibid. p. 511.

46 nātāpyeko pitāpyeko mama taṣya ca pakṣiṇaḥ
amuninambir anigah sa canipohavacanah
mātāpyeko pitāpyeko mama tasya ca pakṣiṇaḥ
ahaṁ munibhīr ānītaḥ sa cānīto gavāśanaiḥ
(Tantro. 5)

47 aham munikang wacana krurā
mawasanang wacana śrunoti
pratyakṣam etat angwatāhi dṛṣṭā
... ...
ahaṁ munīnāṁ vacanaṁ śṛnomi
gavāśanānāṁ sa vacaḥ śṛṇoti
pratyakṣam etad bhavatādya dṛṣṭaṁ
saṁsargajā dośaguṇā bhavanti
(Tantro. 6)

48 abwantarāgatā tang hyang tahyangnābhyantarikṣatah
yenāset nidhana yānti yata roja gajadruma
abhyantaragatā bāhyā bāhyās cābhyantaraṁ gatāḥ

yair narā nidhanaṁ yānti yathā rājā gajadrumaḥ
EP. Durgasimha's Pañca. 5.

49 ācā kulam akyantoh deśam ānyati bhāṣata
sāmbhramā sneham akyantih wāpur anyati bhonama
ācāraḥ kulam ākhyāti deśam ākhyāti bhāṣitam
sambhramaḥ sneham ākhyāti vapur ākhyāti bhojanam
See IHQ. 17 p. 509.

50 viṣād aṣy amṛta grahya amedya cāpi kañcanam
niścawaly uttameng widyam strirātna duskulandapi
viṣād apy amṛtam grāhyam amedhyād api kāñcanam
nīcād apy uttamā vidyā strīratnaṁ duṣkulād api

51 mitrāna hitakaryani yo wakya nāti iṣṭāti
kurmabandawa durbuddhi kaṣṭā braṣṭa vinaśyati
mitrāṇāṃ hitākāmānāṃ yo vākyaṃ nānutiṣṭhati
*sa kūrma iva durbuddiḥ kāṣṭhād bhraṣṭo vinaśyati**
Tantro. 7.

52 catateccā tate pāpa yatate patateṇḍati
yakatisadya durbuddhih calah kahāwako yahah*

53 śilamṛtyuh matinginam ghodewaring pakāśrayan
madalenangkwilenapi jitanindriprayuddhyante*
śīlavṛttam avijñāya yo dadāti pratiśrayam
*so 'cirān naśyati yathā yūko matkuṇakād iva**
Tantro. 9.

Pādas c d seem to have read differently in the Tantri.

54 asakṣiyañcakagatya pratyakṣāmtambayankowet
wanarah nasti sangaṣatih śilatale nadhya dalēm*
asākṣikaṃ na vaktavyaṃ pratyakṣam api yad bhavet
vānaraṇāṃ yathā gītam tathaiva plavate śilā

This *śloka* is the Kathāsaṁgraha stanza of the story of the *Floating Rock and Dancing Apes* which occurs in the *Tantru* (see p. 76 above), the Laotian *Tantai* and in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* of Amitagati (see IHQ 7, 515 ff.). The Kathāsaṁgraha stanza in the latter work reads as *aśraddheyaṁ na vaktavyaṁ pratyakṣam api yad bhavet* । *yathā vānara saṁgītaṁ tathaiva plavate śilā.*

The Tantri version of the story however differs greatly from that of the above works. The emphasis in it is on a witness, *sākṣī*, and it is likely therefore that the first distich in it read as above. The second distich is perhaps identical with that of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and to have read as above.

55 jambu nāsti mahāvṛkṣa sapta bhah patitah guṇam
atilobhāt dadamenah punah bhawanti wānaraḥ *

56 vyāghrā sabhārasapaṇam yat mānaya bhrutam wanah
tenāmayā waśanena manusya nāsti wasikah *
vyāghra–vānara–sarpāṇāṁ yan mayā na kṛtaṁ vacaḥ
tena kūpāpanītena manuṣyeṇāsmi vañcitaḥ
See Tantro. 11.

57 kṛtaṇamkṛtaṭharyata kartāramapi pindayet
italastahyayamwyaghram anañcadi brahmaṇayam
kṛtaghne vihitaṁ kāryaṁ kartāram api pīḍayet
*nāśayatyadhamo vaidyaṁ vyāghraḥ svaṁ jīvakaṁ yathā**
See Tantro. 15.

58 katasya sapa ṣatyasya kakantasya nṛgacata
anumaṭa mahācantya punabhāwa na jīwitam *

59 aṣṭāṇam pakowaśapam sāptānimapa wanarah
siṣwākararahitriccā kuditanaharohati
hastavān pādavāṁś caiva matimāṁścaiva vānara
varṣātapahavitrāṇīṁ kiṁ kuṭīṁ na kariṣyasi

See Tantro. p. 18, śl. 2 Compare Hooykaas' translation: Waarom maken jullie apen, die toch met voeten en handen begaafd zijt, niet je ejgen huis?

60 atmakahśwawawawasawre kewanamatamacokdi kah
parapyara sulalaklah nāmalasigipāṇḍitah

61 kagyatakehawacaṇah kṛtamanoratasunam
mutawijñāni silpiswat watyanamma picodikah

62 waram ka paṇḍita śatru niccani mitra panditam
wasyanara mukenapi rajanam putrāditakah *
varaṁ ca paṇḍitaḥ śatrur natu mitram apaṇḍitam
paśya vānara–mūrkheṇa rājaputro vināśitaḥ *
See Tantro. 17.

63 nāsti katyamparot darma atmamatyam pātakam param
świtammohikadharmasyam dharma satyam na lopayet
nāsti satyāt paro dharmo nānṛtāt pātakaṁ param
śrutir hi satyaṁ dharmaś ca tasmāt satyaṁ na lopayet

64 waṣanaryamaletriyat saptangginghetrayobajah
nahapraṇahlikakinnah bahnihadbhūtahdaryante

65 śrey wānarasya maraṇam bhiro śatru sarwa wīrya
śṛtiwasmawasyawijña phalaputrasatmawibhuh
śreyo naras ya maraṇaṁ bhīroḥ śatruṣv asaktavīryasya
kiṁ tasya jīvitaphalaṁ paribhava–śokābhibhūtasya

See Tantro. 25. and Javanese explamation (Dutch tran.) : Wat heeft het leven nog voor zin, als men zijn vijand niet kan dooden? Maar men mag er niet mee beginnen; men mag alleen wraak nemen.

66 yawendrayamotowangah kalaś ca bhāgawan api
Dhitraguptantasamadhya swarapi mṛyate sutah
yadā śakro yamaś caiva kālas ca bhagavān api
*citraguptaṁ ameṣyani tadā ca mriyate śukaḥ**
Cp. Tantro. 27.

67 wandawahaccatasawwa atehanyawṛsaktikah
wajayandira neśatruḥ suwarna iwa añcati *
bāndhavāḥ sahitāḥ sarve anyonya-vaśavartinaḥ
*vijayante raṇe śatrūn suparṇam iva kacchapāḥ**
Cp. Tantro. 28.

68 aśrīyanabhyupāyena karyarembhakajāyante
nyadisapihpayorwidam gandamalyeyatapitgoh *
akrameṇānupāyena kāryārambho na siddhyati
*dadhi-sarpiḥ-payāṁsīva śabarasya yathā hi goḥ**
Cp. Tantro 31 and Hooykaas' translation.

69 ahem sadākāla prabhu swabhāwanta waśiṇam
candnārata rāwanimūrtah kimtwakañayumanyante
sadā śoṇitabhakṣasya sarvajīvānupātinaḥ
damṣṭrāntara-vinirmuktaḥ kiṁ nu lābhaṁ na manyase

Compare Tantro. 34 and Dutch translation: je mag wel van geluk spreken dat ik je niet opat toen je in mijn bek gekroepen was.

70 māya wyāghrastapandasyā nitimantrāśaśaṇawam
ekāmūrtidināñcetram ngkāna ṣwadābhayauhnyante
śaktaś cāham samarthaś ca ubhe netre nipāṭitum
ekanetra-vinirmukto lābham etat tu manyatām
Compare Tantro. 35.

71 wakāñcasruwatadaśwa banukoccilāwañcikah
upāyamsapangkosarwa gajendra niddhi patika*
kākaś ca drumakuṭṭaś ca maṇḍūko nīlamakṣikaḥ
*laṭvayā saha pañcaite gajaṁ jaghnur upāyataḥ **

Compare Tantro. 38 and Dutch translation : Hoe groot die oliphant was, hij vond toch den dood door specht, kraai, groene vlieg kikvorsch en eend.

72 bhāṣārākṣantyauyawarṇan sagarākṣapi rāksanta
parisparoswirogena duṣtāngwākṣawisārjayet*

73 upāyammauuttakṣanam na yak ṣakam nalenapi
nānaḥ nanāmūrtenewa rājyanapenamnasyanti*
upāyena hi tac chakyaṁ na yac chakyaṁ balenāpi
ḳākyā kanakasūtreṇa kṛṣṇasarpo nipātitah

74 anāgatamwanākāñca pradyumnamati bantara
sadeñcamwangnamiccāti yatbha wiṣyati naśyanti*
Anāgatavidhātā ca Pratyutpannamatis' ca yaḥ
dvāv etau sukham edhete Yadbhaviṣyo vinaśyati *
(comp. Tantro. 42)

75 uttama-madhya-kaniṣṭham kottamam vacano bhawet
tasya mahatograstava wākyam camadya wijayet*
uttamādhamamadhyānām śrotavyam vacanam budhaiḥ
*tatra cātmahitam grāhyam bastavākyam yathā nṛpaḥ**

Compare Tantro. 44 and Dutch translation : Van de woorden der ellendigen, middelmatigen en uitstekenden neme men ter harte wat geschikt is, doch late men ter zijde wat ungeschikt is, evenals het geval was met de woorden van den bok-en toch nam Mahārāja Aridharma ze ter harte.

76 nalingning candanasthinam aśwānām paminam tīkṣna
wiśwāsā newa kartavya strikulaja sulesunaih
Tantro 45. see no, 16 above.

77 niccotyesapateduhkam niccohutpapate mṛtyu
paramwatāwikasyanti tasmat nicca wisarjayet *

The number of stanzas in the Tantri, as reproduced above, is 77. Of these, no. 9 is the same as no. 5 and no. 76 the same as no. 16 ; nos. 21,22 too, it is my belief, form but one *śloka* in the Mālinī metre (pāda b : *phala-taru-muditānām ratna...kapīnām*), and thus the number of stanzas cited is really 74.

Of these stanzas, no. 38 is the Kathasaṁgraha *śloka* of the frame-story of Nandaka-prakaraṇa, and nos. 36, 37 introductory to that Prakaraṇa. Stanzas 1-35 belong to the Kathāmukha of the Tantri ; of these, nos. 1-4 are introductory, nos. 5-9 are descriptive of the king Eśvaryapāla and his court, and nos. 10-35 are what we may call *nīti-ślokas* or apophthegms.

Among the stanzas 39-77, thirteen (nos. 48, 51, 53, 54, 57, 62, 66, 67, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75) are Kathāsaṁgraha *ślokas*, the nature of 8 stanzas (nos. 52, 55, 58, 60, 61, 64, 72, 77) is not known ; the remaining eighteen *ślokas* are *ākhyāna* stanzas, i. e., *ślokas* spoken by a character appearing in the story in question, Ten of these eighteen stanzas (nos. 40-45, 49, 50, 63 and 76) are *nīti ślokas*.

The Kathasaṁgraha stanzas mentioned above are all, with the exception of no. 48, introduced by the words " Seeing this, Bhagavān Basubhāga made the (following) *sloka* " ; this is the case with the stanzas no. 52, 55, 56, 58, 72, 77 also. It is interesting to note that in the Tantro. also 23 stanzas, out of 54 contained in the Nandakaprakaraṇa,

are introduced by the words "Seeing this Vasubhāga spoke the (following) *śloka*". Among these 23 stanzas, ten (see under nos. 51, 53, 57, 59, 66, 67, 68, 71, 74, 76 above) are the same as those in the Tantri; that is to say, they are the original *ślokas* (or variant readings of the original *ślokas*) of which the Tantri *ślokas* are corruptions. This is the case with nine other *ślokas* too of the Tantro. (see under nos. 36, 39, 46, 47, 59, 65, 69, 70, 76).

The *ślokas* a scribed to *Vasubhāga* (Basubhāga in the Tantri) are distinguished above by an asterisk placed at the end.

It is interesting to note that *śloka* no. 56, *vyāghra-vānara sarpāṇām*, is ascribed in the Tantri to Basubhāga. This is wrong as it is plain that it is really spoken by the Brāhmin: the Tantro. (no. 11) rightly ascribes the *śloka* to the Brāhmin. Śloka no. 27 of the Tantro. (*yadā śakro yamaś caiva...*) is ascribed to Citrgupta; in the Tantri (see no. 66 above) it is ascribed to Basubhāga.

Vasubhāga, according to the introduction (Kathāmukha) in the Kannada Pañcatantra of Durgasiṁha (see p. 260 in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, Vol. VI), is the Brāhmin who undertook the education of the princes and related to them the stories of the Pañcatantra. In the *Tantrākhyāyikā* and many other versions of the Pañcatantra, the name of the Brāhmin is given as Viṣṇuśarman.

It is interesting to note (see p. 31 of Hooykaas' above-mentioned dissertaion) that *Tantri demung* 1, 48b (onyang carita śloka wĕkas img Tantri, pakriyā śrī Basubhāga Nandaka-karaṇārabhipun mentions Basubhāga as the author of the Tantri.

A DISSERTATION ON A DOUBTFUL PASSAGE IN THE KĀŚIKĀVṚTTI ON P. I. 1. 4 and two passages in the Taittirīyā Āraṇyaka prapāṭhaka 4.

BY

K. V. ABHYANKAR

The Kāśikāvṛtti on the sūtra न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके makes the following observation in connection with the omission of the word 'धातु' in that rule : धातुग्रहणं किम्। लूञ् लविता। रेडसि। पर्णं न वेः। अनुबन्धप्रत्ययलोपे मा भूत्। रिषेर्हिंसार्थस्य विच्प्रत्ययलोप उदाहरणं रेडिति। There is no difficulty re : the instance लूञ् लविता where, in case the word 'धातु' is not read in the rule न धातुलोप०, the elision of the mute letter ञ् attached to the root लू, is likely to prevent the substitution of the guṇa vowel ओ for ऊ of the root लू. A difficulty presents itself in the case of the instance रेडसि and still more in the case of the instance पर्णं न वेः.

The expression रेडसि occurs as a part of the stanza सं ते मनो मनसा सं प्राणः प्राणेन गच्छताम्। रेडसि... Vāj. Saṁh. VI. 18; while, पर्णं न वेः occurs as a part of the stanza उत स्मास्य द्रवतस्तुरण्यतः पर्णं न वेरनु वाति प्रगर्धिनः। ... Vāj. Saṁh. IX. 15. The word रेट् (रेष्) is formed from the root रिष् (to injure) of the 4th conj. by the addition of the affix विच् of which इ and च् are mute and व् is elided by the rule वेरपृक्तस्य. As विच् is a strong termination, the penultimate vowel इ of रिष् is turned into ए by the rule पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च (P. VII. 3.86.)

In case the word धातु is not read in the rule न धातुलोप०, the rule would mean—no guṇa or vṛddhi is substituted for the immediately preceding or penultimate vowel before an ārdhadhātuka affix when an elision has taken place. In the formation of the word रेट्, as the ārdhadhātuka affix विच् is elided, the rule न धातुलोप० would be preventing the substitution of the vowel ए for इ of रिष् and, as a result, the word रेट् would not be formed. If the word धातु is retained in the rule, the substitution of guṇa will not be prevented as विच् which is elided, does not form a part of a root. The presence of the word धातु is hence, necessary in the rule.

The instance पर्णं न वेः is not so easy to explain as रेडसि. The text पर्णं न वेः in the copy is doubtful in the first place, as the printed copies read नये: in the place of न वेः and परा or पस or पण for पर्णं. As the expression पर्णं नये: or पर्णं न वेः is discussed neither in the text, nor in any commentary, nor quoted by any other grammarian, it is possible that it was inserted into the text at a later stage. The reading पर्णं न वेः appears, however, to be the correct one, as the expression actually occurs in the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā just like रेडसि, and is found in one of the manuscripts. But, even

though the reading is accepted, the word वे: cannot easily be said to be presenting a difficulty in case the word धातु is removed from the rule न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके. The word वि, of which वे: is the gen. sing form, is derived from the root वा by the addition of the uṇādi affix इ (इण्) to the root and eliding the vowel ā of the root वा by the uṇādi sūtra वातेः (इण्) डिच्च (Uṇ. IV. 134). Although there is the elision here of the mute letter ण् of the affix इण् as also that of the vowel आ of the root वा, the substitution of guṇa for the vowel इ of वि cannot occur before the word वि has been formed and the guṇa too, is for the affix इ, and not caused by the affix इ. The rule न धातुलोप०, hence, cannot, in fact, apply here, although the word धातु be removed from it. The rule can apply only if the word आर्धधातुक is construed with the word लोप and not with गुण and side by side the पदसंस्कारपक्ष is followed, by virtue of which व् + आ + इ + अस् is taken together for the formation of the complete word वे: and then आ is elided and इ is changed into ए. Besides this, the Uṇādi affix इण् will have to be looked upon as ārdhadhātuka inspite of its being one of the Uṇādi affixes.

To avoid these difficulties, it is possible to take the word वे: as Nom-sing. of the word वे and say that in the formation of it, the substitution of the guṇa vowel ए for the vowel ई of the root वी is likely to be prevented as the affix क्विप्, which causes the guṇa substitution, has got its own elision. The case can be looked upon as similar to that of the word रेट्. This explanation, although grammatically feasible, goes against the sense of the expression पर्णं न वे: as the word वे: cannot be taken as a form of the Genitive singular in the Vedic passage as required by the sense. It is however possible to observe, that the word वे: could be the Genitive sing. of the word वे by the substitution of स् (सु) for अस् (ङस्), the affix of the genitive singular, by the rule सुपां सुलुक्पूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाड्यायाजालः P. VII. 1. 39.

It is also possible although not advisable, to take the word वे: as a verbal form of the subjunctive (लेट्) second person sing–of the root वी 'to go' etc. by the addition of the conjugational sign स् (सिप्) and the elision of the conjugational affix.

As many manuscript and printed copies read the word नये: with the preposition परा before it, instead of न वे: preceded by पर्णं, an attempt could be made to explain नये: as an illustration of the difficulty arising in case the word धातु is not read in the rule न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके. नये: can be taken as the potential second person singular of the root नी, in the formation of which there occurs the elision of स् of यासु by the rule लिङः सलोपोऽनन्त्यस्य and the elision can be taken as prohibiting the substitution of the guṇa vowel ए for the vowel ई of नी. This explanation, however, is not very satisfactory as the affix सिप् (स्) which is sārvadhātuka, and hence eligible to get the letter स् of the augment यासु elided, has to be taken as ārdhadhātuka also, for the sake of coming in the way of the

guṇa substitution. The affix लिङ् and its substitutes are tooked upon as ārdhadhātuka in the Vedic Literature by the rule छन्दस्युभयथा P. III. 4. 117 ; but, for that purpose, the passage परां नये: or पर्णं नये: or whatever may be the genuine one with नये: as the verbal form, will have to be looked upon as a Vedic one, although untraced, and the affix स् (सिप्) will have to be looked upon as both sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka in one and the same word नये: which is not warranted as it would involve a recourse to the अर्धजरतीन्याय which is to be avoided as far as practicable.

In the Taittirīāraṇyaka prapāṭhaka 4 anuvāka 28 there is a passage as follows:...... पञ्चकृत्वस्ते नमः । दशकृत्वस्ते नमः । शतकृत्वस्ते नमः । आसहस्रकृत्वस्ते नमः । अपरिमितकृत्वस्ते नमः । where uniformly in all words ending in कृत्वः, the syllable कृ is marked acute or udātta while all the remaining syllables, including the first member of the compound which is a numeral, are marked anudātta or grave. The Taddhita affix कृत्वस् (कृत्वसुच्) being marked with the mute letter च्, shows that all the words ending in kṛtvas should have the acute accent on the last syllable त्वस्. In the ṛgveda the words शश्वत्कृत्व: and भूरिकृत्व: occur respectively in......मर्मृज्मा ते तन्वं भूरि कृत्व: (R. V. III. 18.4) and...शश्वत्कृत्व ईड्याय प्र जभ्रु: (R. V. III. 54-1) where as the accents show, कृत्वस् is an independent word. Sāyaṇa has explained कृत्व: in the first passage as the vocative sing-of कृत्वत् with the acute accent on the first syllable, while in the second he has given no grammatical explanation, but explained शश्वत्कृत्व: as भूयो भूयः. Elsewhere he has explained कृत्वः as acc. pl. of the barytone word कृतु meaning time or turn.

Are we to explain in the light of what has been stated above that in the days of the Vedic Litīrature, kṛtvas was an independent word and as it was always noticed in compounds as a second member, Pāṇīni made it a Taddhitā affix just like दघ्न, मात्र and others and, as he found it oxytone, or accented acute at the end in popular use, he marked it with the mute letter च? So also, as we find the word कृत्वः at the end in the words भूरिकृत्वः, शश्वत्कृत्वः, अपरिमितकृत्वः, are we to understand the word संख्या used by Pāṇini in the rule संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुच् (P. V.4.17) not strictly in the sense of a numeral, but conveying the idea of a 'number' of things ?

Another doubtful point in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka is the form छित्स्महि in मा वास्तोश्छित्स्मह्यवास्तुः स भूयाद्योस्मान्द्वेष्टि......(prapāṭhaka 4 Anuvāka 42). All the three syllables छित् स्म and ह्य are accented anudātta or grave here; the vowel इ of हि in छित्स्महि, which is anudātta, is turned into the semivowel य् and the vowel अ which follows upon य्, has remained anudātta. The form छित्स्महि is evidently a form of the Pass. Aorist 1st pl. of the root छिद् and has no augment अ added to it as it is connected with the negative indeclinable मा. The passage means ' we should not be cut

off from our house, let the person who hates us and whom we hate, be cut off'. Sāyaṇa has taken छित्स्म and हि as separate words, but, in that case, the indeclinable हि being udātta, the anudātta vowel अ after it, will be liable to be changed into a svarita vowel on the change of the vowel इ into the semivowel य् by the rule उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितोऽनुदात्तस्य (VI.2.4). Bhaṭṭabhāskara has explained मा छित्स्महि as भिन्ना मा भूम which evidently shows that he has taken छित्स्महि as Pass-Aor, as stated above. The printed edition, however, has printed मा वास्तोः छित् स्महि भिन्ना मा भूम, शत्रुः अवास्तुर्भूयात् where the printing of छित् and स्महि as separate words is apparently a mistake of the printer. As the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka has no traditional Pada Text in the recital such difficulties arise. Can scholars who are familair with the Padapāṭha throw more light and explain suitably the passages?

An attempt is made in this article to bring the difficulties in the interpretation of the passages quoted above, to the notice of scholars of Veda and Vyākaraṇa whose help is besought in obtaining a satisfactory solution of the difficulties pointed out above.

REVIEWS

THE DESTINY OF THE VEDA IN INDIA. By Louis RENOU. Edited by Dev Raj CHANNA (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1965). Price Rs. 10 ; pp. 105 (with the Editor's Preface, pp. v–viii).

Among the very few European Scholars who have attempted *au grand serieux* a critical, methodological and detailed study of the kaleidoscopic Indology, Louis RENOU (hereafter referred to as R.), the indefatigable Parisian Sanskritist, appears preeminent. No modern research worker in Sanskrit (with its ramifications) can afford to ignore R's innumerable works in which he has contributed to our understanding of Sanskrit texts. For a proper appreciation and criticism of his works, it is necessary to be a qualified specialist in the various fields which R. has embraced since the '20s.

Thanks to the habitual perspicacity of R., our studies in the Veda and Pāṇini are now enriched with his " Études védiques ét Pāṇinéennes" (hereafter abbr. EVP) fourteen volumes of which have appeared in print from 1955 to 1965.

The book under review is an English translation of the sixth volume of EVP under the fascinating title, " The Destiny of the Veda in India " (*Le destin du Veda dans l'inde*).

R.'s book aims to describe in its historical perspective the relation of Veda to certain Vedāṅgas, Darśanas, epics, Purāṇas, besides examining the impact of Vedism on Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Tantrism and the nāstika " isms ". He has taken great pain to show " the real extension of Vedic thought in post-Vedic India " and the connections which " modern scholarship establishes between Vedic data and that of Hinduism ". Readers of the book may find of particular interest the general historical material embodied in Sections 11,13 and 30 and R.'s concentration on Mīmāṁsā-which is " *une herméneutique du Veda* " (EVP. 60) in Sections 40-44 and again in Sections 46-50.

R. has looked into the heterogeneous depths of Vedism—depths into which linguists, logicians, exegets and philosophers have already peered. Brought up-to-date by the results of his own investigations of certain trends in Vedism and of relevant enquiries in the two Mīmāṁsās, R. has duly X-rayed the Veda. Needless to say, his book is to be commended as a comprehensive exhibition of the facts of which it treats.

There are, however, some pronouncements which, coming from R., deserve the consideration of the discerning critics. Space remains only to mention one or two.

(i) In the EVP Sect. 36 we read that " Tard venu, Śaṅkara est moins un commentateur (j'entends : dans le Śārīrakabhāṣya) qu' un ' sectaire ' (ceci soit dit sans intention péjorative)...". Even without pejorative intention, we need not brand Śaṅkara a " sectarian ". It is true that he, unlike Sāyaṇa, was not concerned with Vedic hermeneutics. Furthermore, his Advaitic vision may not be considered a mere Vedic archetype. Nevertheless his final analysis of the *Brahma-Mīmāṁsā* falls in line with the Vedic *Jñānakāṇḍa*. Accordingly Śaṅkara, it may be rightly said, is less a Vedic Semantist than a *bona fide* philosopher.

(ii) EVP Sect. 43. Talking about the part of *mantras* which, when modified by *vikalpas*, ceases to be a *mantra*, R. brings in the analogy that in Grammar the substitute of a suffix or root ceases to be a suffix or root (... en Grammaire le substitut d'un suffixe ou d'une racine cesse d'être un suffix ou une racine). According to the Pāṇinean rule, *sthānivad ādeśo'nalvidhau* (1, 1, 56) and Patañjali's commentary thereon, the substitute (*ādeśa*)—which possesses the general properties of the prototype or *sthānin* (but not the specific properties)—behaves like the prototype. Compare the Paribhāṣā : *Sāmānyātideśe viśeṣānatideśaḥ*. To cite Patañjali's analogy, the pupil is honoured with the front seat (and other formalities), when he goes to the house of a sacredotalist in the place of his teacher (*upādhyāyasya śiṣyo yājyakulāni gatvā agrāsanādīni labhate*).

In his concluding note (EVP Sect. 51), R. thinks that the essentials of the Vedic world have passed away, and the Vedic representation ceased to be a ferment of Indian religiosity. The chief reasons for this " *déperdition* " (loss) are :

(i) the difficulty of the style and language ;

(ii) the emphasis placed on recitation to the deteriment of textual interpretation ; and

(iii) the etymological prejudice of Vedic commentators.

However R. is optimistic in his assertion that the Mīmāṁsā confronted itself most durably and intimately with the Vedic thought (... la Mīmāṁsā ... s'est affrontée le plus durablement, le plus intimement, avec la pensée védique ...).

What, then, is the destiny of Veda ? Standing in the Vedic field of diverging claims and interests, the student of Veda is visited by the same feeling expressed by the Latin adage : *habent sua fata libelli*. The hypertrophy of Vedic Research, no doubt, will have interesting consequences for the entire study of Vedism. But its future lies in the direction of meticulously honest studies, which specialists should lay in our hands, and we will be looking to them for standards. As

far as India is concerned, the Saṁhitās will be recited, as usual, with pitch accents, while questions on Vedic Semantics will remain a *crux criticorum*—to say nothing about the impact of Vedism on the religious life of modern Indians.

The Editor and Publisher of this volume deserve our sincere thanks. We consider the joint-effort of CHANNA and his colleague successful in translating R.'s book into English. Since in India there are many Sanskritists who do not easily read French, it is to be hoped that the remaining volumes of the remarkable and useful EVP will be translated into English by the enterprising Editor.

The proof reading of the book was not well done. There are many printing errors including diacritics. The dental *n* of '*Brahman*' is retroflexed as *brahmaṇ* in seven places, according to my count, both in the EVP and the English version. The words pāṣanda (Sect. 3; 8), sāṁskāra (Sect. 6), purāna (Sect. 38), ekam (Sect. 43) and puroḍāśam (Sect. 47) must be corrected as pāṣaṇḍa, saṁskāra, purāṇa, ekaṁ and puroḍāśaṁ respectively. Furthermore, the foot notes to paragraphs 1 and 6 are imperfectly numbered. Sect. 1 has 13 f. n. s. and n. 3, which is missing in p. 1, must be inserted after ' disciplines ' (p. 1. line 7). The subsequent numbering of f. n. s. should proceed in the ascending order. Similarly, (Sect. 6, pp. 7–8) contains 6 f. n. s., while in the Notes (pp. 67–68) only five entries have been made. The sentence beginning with: "Numerous Vedic allusions ... " (p. 68, line 5) refers to f. n. 3.*

M. D. Balasubrahmanyam.

* When the original draft was sent to the Editor, the reviewer wished long life and health to Renou. But unfortunately for us, Renou has passed away. Needless to say, Renou will be cherished as a *clarum et venerabile nomen* in the world of "Wissenschaftliches Sanskrit ".

Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume. Edited by G. T. Deshpande, A. M. Shastri and V. W. Karambelkar. Published by Vidarbha Samshodhan Mandal, Nagpur, Roy. 8°, Pages lxx + 458. Price Rs. 40/-

It was in the fitness of things that a largely attended meeting of the elite of Nagpur decided to issue a Felicitation Volume in recognition of Dr. Mirashi's monumental work in all branches of Indology. Divided into two parts, covering respectively 70 and 458 pages, the first part contains a life-sketch and appreciation of Dr. Mirashi and a complete bibliography of his writings in English, Marathi and Hindi. The second part comprises 42 articles divided into eight sections.

In the first section entitled "Vedic Literature" there are nine articles. Prof. Velankar attempts to determine the relative chronology of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra at the court of King Sudās ('Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha in the Ṛgveda'), while Dr. Agrawala explains the symbolism in the "Puruṣasūkta". After discussing several interpretations of "the Vena Sūkta in the Atharva Veda", Dr. Dandekar regards the Atharva Veda Sūkta "as reflecting two currents of philosophical thought which must have been in vogue in its time." Āditya and several solar deities including Aditi, Viṣṇu, Savitṛ, Mitra, Pūṣan, Uṣas and Bhaga in the Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas have been discussed by Dr. Shende. According to Dr. Dange, the primary purpose of adorning the body at sacrifices or other Vedic rites was not the mere beautification of the body but was protective and for warding off the evil. The second section on "Classical Sanskrit Literature" opens with Dr. Mainkar's "The Mahābhārata war: Its Nature and Significance" where he shows that the Mahābhārata war or Kaurava-Pāṇḍava conflict was in fact the Aryan-Dāsa conflict in which the Dāsas emerged victorious; and hence "the authors of the early Vedic literature did their best to forget this very heavy blow to the prestige of the Aryans and their gods". In his short article on "A Kālidāsa reference in the Locana of Abhinavagupta" Dr. Raghavan takes the reference as applicable to the *Ghatakarpara*. Dr. Devasthali has shown the untenability of the Kālidāsa-Īśvarakṛṣṇa identity proposed by Dr. Mainkar. In the next Section on "Manuscripts", Dr. S. L. Katre, on the basis of a recently procured MS of *Kīrticandrodaya-kāvya* of Viśvanātha and other relevant data, identifies Candrabhāna, the author's patron, with the ruler of the Orchha line and provisionally assigns the work to c. A. D. 1630-40. With regard to the two recensions of the *Kuvalayamālā*, Dr. Upadhye has shown that of the two available Mss of the *Kuvalayamālā*, J presents a better version than P; basic exemplars of these have been independently revised; some longer

additions were made when the basic exemplar of J was revised and these did not find place in the basic exemplar of P. Dr. Rahurkar has given the description of the unique MS containing the Sanskrit text of the anonymous *Laghu-Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha-sāra* and the Hindī Dohās of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī; there is also information about Kavīndrācārya, his scholarship and his contemporaries.

Under the Section " Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, " Dr. Patkar gives an alphabetical list of professional castes from the Dharmasūtras, with annotations, relevant references and quotations. After considering a number of parallels between Kauṭilya and Yājñavalkya, Prof. Kangle regards the latter as borrower. According to Dr. R. K. Dikshit, the state as conceived by Kāmandaka " was a welfare state catering to the *Yogakṣema* of the people, interested as much in their welfare and happiness in this life as in the next. " Dr. R. V. Joshi, in the next Section on " Philosophy ", discusses the treatment of fallacy in Indian logic on the basis of a comparative study of the works of the old school of Nyāya and the school of syncretistic logicians.

Under the Section " Art and Architecture ", while dealing with the process of casting metal images in a mould from references in early Sanskrit literature, Prof. V. M. Bedekar finds that the *Mahābhārata* passage affords the earliest link in the chain of literary evidence. Dr. J. N. Banerjea gives an architectural and iconographic description of the unique temple enshrining the image of Vārāhī at Chaurāshi with illustrations. In the next Section on " Epigraphy " Dr. K. D. Bajpai locates the Vaṅgas in the Makrān coast of Baluchistan and takes the Vahlīkas as the people of the Western Panjab who had spread up to the north-eastern parts of Baluchistan. Dr. Kolte invites attention to the first stone inscription of the Washim branch of the Vākāṭakas, which mentions a definite date Śaka year 380. According to Dr. Gai, Garuḍa was the emblem on the seals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and not Śiva as held by some scholars. Dr. Buddha Prakash, in the last Section on " Ancient Indian History ", criticises the view held by Dasharath Sarma, Altekar and Mirashi regarding the interpretation of the events in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Dr. V. S. Pathak shows how the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* tells the story in its own charateristically symbolic language. On the testimony of literary and epigraphic evidence, Dr. Dasharath Sarma holds that the Bhadānaka-deśa comprised, besides the old Bharatpur State, Dholpur, Karaulī and parts of Mathurā and Alwar Districts. According to him, Bhadānaka (Bhayāṇaya in Apabhraṁśa) is the Bayāna or Bayānā of Muslim writers. Dr. O. P. Varma states that Hemādri is " no other than the minister of the Yādava Kings Mahādeva and Rāmacandra and......he flourished in the thirteenth century A. D. ".

It is not possible to refer to all articles in the course of this review. Suffice it to state that the remaining articles by Doctors G. T. Deshpande, R. B. Pande, Mehendale, Bhandari, Kawthekar, P. S. Sastri, Karambelkar, Rao, S. Prasad, N. S. Dravid, N. P. Joshi, A. M. Shastri, G. K. Bhat, P. B. Desai, Chhabra, Mrs. Gopal, J. N. Agrawal and Lallanji Gopal are also valuable and merit careful consideration.

The printing, paper, get-up and illustration are quite nice, and the volume deserves a place in all research libraries.

A. D. P.

ŚĀKTA-DARŚANA OF HAYAGRĪVA, edited critically with an Introduction and a Sanskrit Commentary by Prof. K. V. Abhyankar; Published by the Cultural Research and Publication Department of the Sanskrit Vidyā Parisaṁsthā, 635 Sadashiv, Poona 2. (1966) pp. i-xliv + 1-136. Price Rs. 10.

Śākta Philosophy had not so far found a representative Sūtra work in the traditional style after the pattern of other systems of Indian Philosophy. Compendiums like the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* give no place to Śākta Darśana among the summaries of philosophical systems. The *Śākta-darśana* of Hayagrīva edited by Prof. K. V. Abhyankar is, therefore, most welcome, as it makes available to the students of Indian philosophy a compendious Sūtra-work dealing with all aspects of Śākta faith and philosophy.

The present work contains two Sūtra Texts on Śākta philosophy (i) The Śākta-darśana of Hayagrīva (pp 1-106), which forms the main body of the work, comprises 18 *adhyāyas*, each *adhyāya* consisting of 4 *pādas*. There are in all 1360 sūtras in the work. This Text is followed by a very useful Appendix No. 1 (pp. 85-106) which gives the meanings of important words in the text with their textual references. (ii) *Śaktisūtra* of Agastya, which forms Appendix No II (pp. 107-135), comprises 4 *adhyāyas* containing in all 305 *ūtras*.— The learned editor has provided an illuminating Sanskrit Commentary to each of the above texts, *Mitākṣarā* on the *Śāktadarśana* and *Laghuvṛtti* on the *Śaktisūtra*. Each of the two texts is based on a single ms. The ms. of Hayagrīva's *Śaktidarśana* was made available to the editor by Prof. H. B. Bhide, while that of the *Śaktisūtra* by one 'research worker.' The editor has not given any description of these mss as regards their provenance, date etc. He, however, gives two examples of the stylistic mannerisms of the *Śaktidarśana*, namely, (i) masculine nouns many times used in the nominative singular in the neuter gender and (ii) locative singular of feminine nouns ending in '*i*' more often ending in '*ām*' than in '*āu*'.

The editor has appended in the beginning a comprehensive Introduction of 40 pages in which he has discussed, in general, topics covering a wide field—the origin and development of the Śākta faith and philosophy, its tenets including its concept of salvation, its form of worship, its Vedic and non-Vedic cults, and in particular the main contents of the two works in the present edition, drawing pointed attention to the salient metaphysical, cosmological and theological doctrines of Śākta philosophy. In the

opinion of the editor, *Śaktidarśana* "seems to have been written before eighth century A.D. ", while the *Śaktisūtra* of Agastya " was written after the *Śaktidarśana* within a century or two, possibly before Śaṅkarācārya."

The dates advanced by the editor for the two works do not appear to be convincing for want of strong, conclusive evidence. Rather, the contents of the *Śaktadarśana* and their syncretic character may point to much later date, probably after the 11th century A. D. The editor himself has shown lively awareness of the syncretic character of the work. While summarizing his conclusions, he says (p. xxxii-xxxiii) " The present work... contains, in a way, the kernels of the teaching of the great philosophies such as the Māyādvaita of Śaṅkarācārya, the Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānujācārya, the Śuddhādvaita of Vallabhācārya, the Ābhāsavāda of Garuḍapādācārya, the Dvaitādvaita of Bhartṛprapañca, the Śabdādvaita of Bhartṛhari and other similar systems of philosophies advocating monism. Similarly the teachings of dualistic philosophers like Nimbārka, Madhvācārya. . . appear to be analogous to the doctrines of Śākta philosophy..." This fullfledged attempt of the *Śaktadarśana* at reconciliation with other systems of philosophy may point to its late chronology. Probably a more systematic and thorough comparison of its contents with those of other Śākta or Tāntric works like the *Saundaryalaharī* may shed more light on its chronology.

The editor holds the view that the Śākta philosophy is of Vedic origin. Whether the origin of the Śākta philosophy is Vedic or non-Vedic is a moot point. Some scholars (e.g. Gopi Nath Kaviraj) are of the view that it existed in the days of the prehistoric Indus civilization. The present work *Śaktadarśana* itself appears to be positing two conflicting views on this score. In one place, it is said that *Śaktadarśana* forms part of Brahmamīmāṁsā of Dvaipāyana (18.2. 26-27). In another place, removed by a few sūtras after the above, Śākta is included as one among the non-Vedic systems (18.2.31). The editor in his Sanskrit gloss on the latter passage explains the Śākta as connoting *Tantra*.

V. M. Bedekar

(1) CĀṆAKYA-NĪTI-TEXT-TRADITION, Vol. I. Part I Reconstructed and critically edited by –Ludwik Sternbach, LL.D., Vishveshvaranand Institute Publication—254–Hoshiarpur, (1963) pp. i-ccvii + 1 – 392. Price not given.

(2) CĀṆAKYA-RĀJA-NĪTI edited with critical apparatus by Ludwik Sternbach LL.D., published by the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras 20. (1963). pp. 1–xxx + 1–181. Price not given.

(3) A NEW ABRIDGED VERSION OF THE BṚHASPATI-SAṀHITĀ OF THE GARUḌA PURĀṆA, by Ludwik Sternbach, LL.D., Purāṇa Department, All India Kashiraj Trust, Ramnagar, Varanasi (1966). pp. 1–117. Price Rs. 10.

All the three works belong to Cāṇakya-literature i. e. the literature of maxims, aphorisms and gnomic verses attributed by Indian literary tradition to the venerable name of Cāṇakya. Dr. Ludwik Sternbach has made a special deep study of Cāṇakya-literature. The works under review are the mature fruit of patient industry, profound text-critical scholarship and critical acumen with which he has been pursuing the study of the Cāṇakya-literature or ' Cānakyāna ' for over a decade.

The vast extent of Dr. Sternbach's undertaking and the meticulousness with which he has executed it can be judged from the following figures. He has collected and studied 159 Cāṇakya editions and analysed 94 of them. In addition he has studied 74 mss. and analysed 48 of them ; of these mss. over 40 had never been studied or described by anybody before him.

O. Kessler, who wrote on Cāṇakya-literature in 1907, had fixed the number of Cāṇakya's compendia to 17 versions. But Dr. Sternbach on the basis of his analysis of this vast amount of literature has concluded that all the texts of the collections of Cāṇakya maxims can be divided into only six versions. They are (i) The Vṛddha Cāṇakya *Textus Ornatior* (ii) The Vṛddha Cāṇakya *Textus Simplicior* (iii) The Cāṇakya-Nīti-Śāstra (iv) The Cāṇakya-Sāra-Saṁgraha (v) Laghu-Cāṇakya and (vi) Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra. Regarding the conclusions of his research, Dr. Sternbach candidly remarks that " No one can prove or even surmise which ones of the so-called Cāṇakya's maxims were actually composed by Cāṇakya himself,' and that ' the titles suggested here (for these different versions) are arbitrarily enumerated with the mere purpose of facilitating the identification of the six versions '.

Cāṇakya-nīti-Text-Tradition, the first of the three works under review, deals with and gives the critically edited texts of the first four (i-iv) of the above-mentioned versions. . . This is vol. I, part, I, of the series. Vol I, part 2 will deal with the remaining two versions (v) and (vi), while in vol. II the third and the last volume in the series, the author hopes to give the Ur-text par excellence, reconstructed on the basis of the six versions published in vol. I.

In this vol. I. part 1, there is an introduction of 207 pages in which the author gives the description of the editions and the mss. used while fixing the text. The thoroughness and patient scholarship which inform the work are evinced by the fact that about as many as 95 pages of the Introduction are taken up with tables which compare and show relationships between different versions. There is a Pratīka Index, at the end, of 34 pages.

The second work *Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti* contains maxims on Rājaniti compiled from various collections of maxims attributed to Cāṇakya. As many as 2438 different maxims and aphorisms attributed to Cāṇakya were analysed by the author and 276 of them having a *rāja-nīti* background have been included in the present collection. Though all of them are not strictly such as have to do with polity, still such as may contribute, in the view of the editor, to the understanding of *Rājanīti* have been included. The maxims are arranged under the following heads : (i) King's duties and qualities. (ii) King's friends and enemies, war, peace, alliances and stratagem. (iii) King's officials (iv) King's subjects (v) Varia or miscellanea such as could not be included under the previous heads. In a comprehensive Introduction in the beginning, of 72 pages, the editor discusses a wide range of topics such as the names of Cāṇakya, collections of *rājanīti* maxims attributed to Cāṇakya, such Cāṇakya aphorisms vis-a-vis the Arthaśastra of Kautilya etc. The Introduction also includes (pp. 20-40) a résumé in English of the maxims with a full translation of some with a view to giving the reader a better idea of the subject-matter. The last 25 pages of the Introduction are devoted to elaborate tabular statements giving the version-wise analysis of the maxims and aphorisms included in the study. At the end (pp 171-181) is given an index of lines of verses included in the text.

A new Abridged Version of the Bṛhaspatisaṁhitā of the Garuḍa Purāṇa is based on a hitherto unpublished ms which was in the custody of the University Library in Cambridge. The ms is called Cāṇakya or Nīti-Cāṇakya or Cāṇakya-trisarga and contains an introductory verse and 57 maxims. Almost all the verses in the ms are identical with those found in the Bṛhaspatisaṁhitā of the Garuḍapurāṇa. In his previous studies on the

Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā, published in the ABORI (vol. 38 pp. 58-110), Dr. Sternbach had already presented his conclusion that the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍapurāṇa is almost identical with the Cāṇakya-rājanīti-śāstra version.

The work contains two annexes : Annex I gives (pp 30-97) a tabular presentation comparing the contents of the Cambridge University ms with the relevant part of Garudapurāṇa and Cāṇakya-rajaniti-śāstra texts under the Cāṇakyaniti-Text-tradition, followed by the author's notes (pp.98-112) which, besides being textual-critical, also refer to the occurrences of the verses in other Sanskrit workes. Annex II presents (pp. 113-117) the critical edition of the Cambridge ms. itself.

V. M. Bedekar

SUPPLEMENT TO O. BÖHTLINGK'S INDISCHE SPRÜCHE, by Ludwik Sternbach. (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft) Wiesbaden 1965.

It is more than ninety years since O. Bohtlingk wrote his famous *Indische Sprüche* and himself prepared two supplements to that work. During this period, several additional sources to which the aphorisms in the *Indische Sprüche* can be traced have become available to Sanskrit scholars.

The present work, now the third supplement to O. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, is the result of Dr. Sternbach's pursuit for several years during which he used O. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche* in his juridical studies in ancient Indian law, as well as in his studies on the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, and particularly on Cāṇakya's aphorisms. Whenever an aphorism from *Indische Sprüche* occurred in any of the works he studied, he tried to determine its authorship or to find additional sources in which it occurred. The material so collected has been incorporated in the present work.

The large range of material used by Dr. Sternbach is evinced by the fact that the names of the books drawn upon run into more than 17 pages. Scholars, who are interested in the Sanskrit gnomic literature, will certainly remain indebted to Dr. Sternbach for this additional source material.

V. M. Bedekar

NATURALISM IN MODERN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY — S. P. Kanal, Reader and Head of the Department of Philosophy, Institute of Post-graduate Studies, University of Delhi. Published by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi 6 (1966), pp. 1-33, Price Rs. 2.

The book introduces the Philosophy of a Modern Indian named Shri Satyanand Agnihotri. Shri Agnihotri was born in 1850 in Akbarpuri, in the district of Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh. He took an Engineer's degree but soon left Govt. service in 1882 and founded in 1887 a new Society of *Dev Dharma*. He then called himself *Dev Atma* i. e. a soul which has developed complete love of truth and goodness.

Dev Atma rejected all transcendental metaphysics and held that " Nature and Nature alone is real " — " Human soul has its origin and destiny in Nature. It has no disembodied existence here or hereafter. It is a life-force evolved like other life-forces in the course of evolution with certain additional specific powers by which it is distinguished from the other life-forces in the animal kingdom ".

Dev Atma's is surely a refreshingly new voice in the realm of Modern Indian Philosophy, most suited and welcome to the modern scientific temper. The book is a stimulating introduction to Dev Atma's philosophy which deserves to be studied thoroughly in all its implications. All the original writings of Dev Atma are in Hindi. His Dev Shastra Parts 1 and 2 and Ātma Kathā are also available in English.

V. M. Bedekar

Dr. Sir R. P. Paranjpye



Born 16-2-1876] [Died 6-5-1966

OBITUARY NOTICES

DR. SIR RAGHUNATH P. PARANJPYE

A vital link in the chain of generations stands broken with the sad demise, after a very brief illness, of Dr. Sir Raghunath P. Paranjpye on May 6, 1966, at the age of 91. Rarely does with the passing away of an individual an era close but this has happened with the passing away of Dr. Sir R. P. Paranjpye.

By his unique achievements at home as well as at St. John's College, Cambridge, by being bracketted as Senior Wrangler of the year 1899 and winning the blue ribbon of English Scholarship and later by his unparalleled act of self-sacrifice in devoting his entire life to the cause of education by joining the Deccan Education Society as a Life-Member, he became a name to conjure with in Maharashtra and beyond. All institutions like the Fergusson College with which Dr. Paranjpye was associated, became as a result of his association, objects of admiring interest and veneration to every educated Indian. In 1921, he was appointed Minister of Education in the Government of Bombay. In 1927 he was appointed a member of the India Council in England. On his return from England in 1932, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University in which capacity he worked for six years till 1938. From 1944 to 1947 he worked as High Commissioner for India in Australia. He also worked as Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University from 1956 to 1959. In addition to his work in these positions, Dr. Paranjpye did excellent work as a member of several Inquiry Committees like the Reforms Inquiry Committee, the Taxation Committee, appointed by the Government of Bombay and the Government of India from time to time. Dr. Paranjpye took keen and lively interest in the social, political and educational institutions of Poona and Maharashtra and his helpful advice and mature judgement were available to these institutions. He took keen interest in the activities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and was the Chairman of the Institute from 1959 till his death.

In his political views and in his outlook in life he was a liberal and a staunch rationalist.

In his death the nation has lost one of her illustrious sons and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in particular has sustained a great and irreparable loss.

May his Soul rest in peace!

T. G. Mainkar

DAMODAR DHARMANAND KOSAMBI

(31-7-1907—29-6-1966)

Death overtook Prof. D. D. Kosambi in his bed in the early hours of the 29th June '66 prematurely and almost surreptitiously, after he had been declared generally fit on the previous day by his family doctor. It was a case of myocordial infarct. A glance at the accompanying list of his publications will bring home to us the serious loss the world of progressive and talented writers has suffered and the void his death has left among the leading savants of renascent India.

Born at Kosben in Goa, then under the rule of the Portuguese colonialists, Damodar Kosambi was brought up in a family known for its rigorous standards of learning and social behaviour. He had inherited from his father, the renowned Buddhist scholar : Dharmanand Kosambi, an insatiable spirit of inquiry, a love of wandering and a sharp, versatile intellect, which took him quickly ahead of his coworkers and gave his views a rare sense of originality. After some schooling in India, his father, who had accepted a teaching assignment at Harvard (U. S. A.), took him to the Cambridge Latin School, where as a boy of eleven he dedicated himself to a student's hard life until after about eight years we see him emerging as a brilliant young graduate of the Harvard University in Mathematics, History and Languages. On returning to India he worked for a few years at the Banaras Hindu University and then at the Aligarh Muslim University before he decided to settle down in Poona in 1932 as Professor of Mathematics at the Fergusson College,—a College, known for its pioneering services in the field of National Education, and where his father had taught for many years and laid the foundations of Buddhist Studies in Western India. It was during the crucial period of fourteen years he spent at this College, which he in lighter vein characterized as "Rama's exile into the wilderness," that Prof. Kosambi carried on an incessant struggle for mastery in various fields of knowledge and laid the foundations of his greatness as a scholar and a thinker.

Endowed with a powerful and far reaching imagination and an outstanding mathematical ability, Kosambi, who had concentrated his mind almost exclusively upon mathematical research upto 1939, was gradually led to use his abstract methods for obtaining new results in various branches of social sciences. He began by applying statistical methods to Indian numismatics. He was seen weighing with the utmost precision and

unremitting zeal thousands of punch-marked coins obtained from different Museums in the country and thrashing out his data until he could establish their chronological sequence, forward convincing arguments regarding the economic conditions under which they could have been minted, and discover facts about the dynastic history of the pre-Mauryan period, based upon a wide study of the ancient literary sources and his new metrological findings. The more he examined the productive spirit working behind the panorama of Indian history, the more charmed he was by the manifold aspects of Indian culture, the past as well as the present. While giving mathematical precision to his ideas in the various branches of humanities, he turned almost instinctively to his Sanskrit inheritance. His frank and scholarly estimate of Bhartṛhari's Aphorisms and later of Vidyākara's anthology : Subhāṣitaratnakośa was a standing testimony to his versatile genius and quick mastery of the latest advances in literary criticism. In these and other Indological studies covering a wide range of subjects from the Vedic and the Epic to the classical literature of India he owed as much to Sukthankar's Prolegomena to the critical edition of the Mahābhārata as to the most modern standards of criticism in the West.

Being deeply preoccupied with the entire field of knowledge as it were, it was no wonder that his mathematical lectures in the Fergusson College seemed to go well over the heads of the post-graduate candidates. That as a result of this Kosambi had to leave the College, ought to open our eyes to the dangers involved in our borrowing an examination-ridden system and uninspiring standards of education in this country. The width of his comprehension and his penetrating researches, however, had been making their mark among the scientific circles of India and abroad. It was not long before he was offered the Chair for Mathematics in the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research of Bombay in 1946, which he held for the next 16 years. The new position offered him opportunities of developing closer contacts with scholars of his own calibre all over the world and of meeting his financial responsibilities better than before. Kosambi, however, could not relish the conditions under which he had to work. Living in his own house in the BORI. Colony, Poona, he had to march every morning of the Railway Station and make the "Deccan Queen" his second home in order to attend to his duties in Bombay. Besides, a man of his temperament, solely dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge and social enlightenment was entitled, he thought, to a freedom of thought and action, such as we hardly expect to meet with in an emergent society struggling for its economic independence. All the same, he was able now not only to give a final shape to some of his earlier studies, but to launch upon new orientations in the fields of Biology, Ethnology, Archaeology and

Pre-history. And every now and then we see him turning back from his study of the social sciences to the development of his research in the comparatively abstract or pure fields of science : the last book he sent out for publication dealt with Prime Numbers. His last major work : The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India (London, 1965), which has now come to be translated into several European and Asiatic languages, set the seal of recognition on his vast erudition, his ability to discover basic motives of human civilization and his brilliant powers of exposition.

It is not for us to estimate the scientific advances made by Prof. Kosambi in the fields of Genetics, Statistics and Mathematics or the part played by him in various other spheres of activity, e. g., in his capacity as Member of the World Peace Council visiting the socialist countries of the East and the West. He believed in the Marxist method of interpreting and changing the human society, but did not hesitate to revise the data of Marx himself in the light of modern research. As an independent thinker with a passionate devotion to scientific research, he seemed to be almost exclusively preoccupied with his own intellectual pursuits. As such he was sometimes accused of brusqueness and intolerance, but he had obviously no use, nor time for all the sophistications of our normal social life, nor could he afford to waste his energies on empty rituals and ceremonies, except for treating them as objects of his anthropological studies. And yet, whenever he found some time to relax, his childlike simplicity and sparkling wit were most refreshing even to those who were nearest to him and he spread laughter and sunshine around him. Towards his friends he was generous to a fault. His inner life was marked by an unmistakable streak of asceticism, while his ethical standards were unusually high and severe. Prof. D. D. Kosambi deserves to be remembered as one of the highly gifted and versatile scientific workers and indefatigable scholars of modern India for whom a relentless search for the highest human values was the only natural way of life.

V. V. Gokhale

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

by

Prof. D. D. Kosambi

(based on his own notes)

1. Precessions of an elliptical orbit: *Ind. Journ. Phys. 5.* **1930.** 359-364.
2. Modern differential geometries: *ibid.* 7. 1932. 159-164.
3. On a generalization of the second theorem of Bourbaki: ***Proc.*** *Acad. Sci. of the U. P. 1.* 1931 (3 pages).
4. On the existence of a metric and the inverse variational problem: *Ibid. 2.* 1932. 17-28.
5. On differential equations with the group property: *J. Ind. Math. Society 19.* 1932. 215-219.
6. The problem of differential invariants: Jubilee memorial volume of the *J. Ind. Math. Soc. 20.* 1933.
7. Geometrie differentielle et calcul des variations: *Rendiconti d. R. Accad. Naz. d. Lincei.* 1932. 410-415 (communicated by T. Levi-Civita).
8. Affin-geometrische Grundlagen der Einheitlichen Feldtheorie: *Sitz. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. Phys. Math. Klasse* 1932. 342-345. Communicated by Erhard Schmidt (misprint in 1st formula *15*).
9. Parallelism and path-spaces: *Math. Zeitschrift 37.* 1933, 608-618. The note following on pp. 619-622 of the same issue by Elie Cartan should be read jointly with the paper.
10. The classification of Integers: *J. Uni. Bombay. 2.* 1933. 18-20 (merely expository).
11. Collineations in path-space: *J. Ind. Math. Soc. 1.* 1934. 69-72.
12. Continuous groups and two theorems of Euler: *Math. Student 2.* 1934. 94-100.
13. The maximum modulus theorem: *J. Uni. Bombay. 3.* **1934.** 11-12 (proof that the theorem holds for non-analytic functions provided only that they are *schlicht* in the mapping).
14. Systems of differential equations of the second order: *Quart. J. Maths.* (Oxford), *6.* 1935. 1-12. (Einstein-Mayer field equations on P. 7; identities on pp. 9-10 used by Douglas, *Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci. (U. S. A.)* 1939 et. seq., without acknowledgement).
15. Homogeneous metrics: *Proc. Ind. Acad. Sci. 1.* 1935. 952-954. Shows that certain types of connections might admit only a metric homogeneous of degree zero, not of Finsler type).

16. An affine calculus of variations: *Proc. Ind. Acad. Sci. 2.* 1935. 333–335 (extension of tensor analysis to higher order differential equations).
17. Differential geometry of the Laplace equation: *J. Ind. Math. Soc. 2.* 1936. 141–143. (It was later pointed out by T. Levi-Civita in a friendly letter that the essential results had been obtained by him before 1907, and Emile Cotton in 1913).
18. Path-spaces of higher order: *Quart. J. Maths.* (Oxford). 7. 1936. 97–104. (Actual execution of the ideas of 16; basis for the work of V. Seetharaman, *Proc. Lond. Math. Soc.* 1938; also frequently utilized by Kawaguchi, Hombu, Hokari, Ohkubo and other members of the Japanese school of differential geometry and tensor analysis).
19. Path-geometry and cosmogony: *Quart. J. Maths. 7.* 1936. 290–293. (First application of the new methods developed in nos. 7, 9, 14, 15 to Milne's work. The divergence of points of view led to misunderstanding and polemical criticism, on both sides).
20. Les metriqués homogènes dans les espaces cosmogoniques: *Comptes Rendus* (Paris) *206.* 1938. 1086–1088.
21. Les espaces des paths généralisés qu'on peut associer avec un espace de Finsler: *ibid.* 1538–1541. Development of 20. (The theoretical bases for reverting from Milne's paths to a metric, and a complete set of conditions for associating a metric in n–space with that in an n+1–space, logically necessary for any theory of relativity).
22. The tensor analysis of partial differential equations: *J. Ind. Math. Society 3.* 249–253. But the Japanese translation appeared first as in the journal: *Tensor*, No. 2, Aug. 1939. 36–39 (Translation by H. Hashimoto), followed by a comment in Japanese by A. Kawaguchi.
23. A note on the trial of Sokrates: *Fergusson Coll. Mag.* July 1939, 1–6 (Sokrates and the class–war of his day); Reprinted in 109, below.

24–25. Various reviews in *The New Age*, *National Front*, and related publications. J. B. S. Haldane on *Marxist philosophy and the sciences*, J. D. Bernal on the *Social functions of science*, G.D.H. Cole and R. Postgate on the *Common people*, etc.

26. The emergence of national characteristics among three Indo-European peoples: *ABORI 20.* 1940, 195–206. Trial speculation on Indology.

27 (a): The function of leadership in a mass movement; (b): The Cawnpore Road: *Fergusson Coll. Mag.* 1939–40, 1–7. (A critique of dialectical-materialistic social theory; a story

published under the pseudonym "Ahriman" reprinted in 109, below.

28 (a): Revolution and the progress of science: *New Age 5.* 320-325. (A survey of the effects of the revolution upon mathematics in the *USSR.*)

28 (b): Science learns the goose-step: *ibid.* pages unknown, as the journal was suppressed soon after. (A protest against the dismissal of T. Levi-Civita from the editorship of the Zentralblatt fur Math. and subsequently from all Italian academies, on grounds of his being a Jew).

29. Path-equations admitting the Lorentz-group-I: *J. Lond. Math. Soc. 15.* 1940. 86-91, reprinted (for the offprints), *Fergusson Coll. Mag.* February 1941.

30. A statistical study of the weights of old Indian punch-marked coins: *Current Science 9.* 1940. 312-314.

31. The concept of isotropy in generalized path-spaces: *J. Ind. Math. Soc. 4.* 80-88 (With an application to Milne's cosmology in the final portion.)

32. A note on two hoards of punch-marked coins found at Taxila: *New Ind. Antiquary 3.* 1940, 156-157. (A review of the memoir by E. H. C. Walsh on the subject.)

33. A note on frequency distribution in series: *Math. Student 8.* 151-155. (Methods of generating other distributions than the Poisson and the binomial); see no. 75 and no. 108.

34. (a): On the study and metrology of silver punch-marked coins: *New Indian Antiquary, 4.* 1941. 1-35 and 49-76. (Numismatics as a science, with an application to its most difficult problem). (b): Additions and corrections, ibid *5.* 1942, May.

35. A bivariate extension of Fisher's *Z*-test: Current Science *10.* 1941. 191-192. (The precise analogue, by readjusting the degrees of freedom, of Fisher's z-test, for a bivariate population).

36 Correlation and time-series: *ibid.* 372-374. (Pointing out that the correlation coefficient is meaningless if calculated when the variance of one of the two variates is infinite).

37. The quality of renunciation in Bhartṛhari's poetry: *F. Coll. Mag.* 1941. (A study in comparative literature. Republished with changes in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 1946. 49-62; reprinted in 109, below.

38. Path-equations admitting the Lorentz group-II: *J. Ind. Math. Soc. 5.* 1941. 62-72. (Continuation of 29; for further work, see the series of papers by Mohd. Shabbar, *Proc. Ind. Acad. Sci.* 1940, 1941).

39. On the origin and development of silver coinage in India: *Current Science 10.* 1941. 395-400. Shows that the punch-

marked coinage system developed from Mohenjo-Daro cut silver pieces.

40. On valid tests of linguistic hypotheses: *New Indian Antiquary 5.* 1942. 21-24. Shows that Zipf's "inverse square" law is not valid in linguistics. This paper was then called to the special attention of linguists by A. J. Lotka.

41. Zeros and closure of orthogonal functions: *J. Ind. Math. Soc. 6* 1942. 16-24.

42. The effect of circulation upon the weight of metallic currency: *Current Science. 11.* 1942, 227-231. Shows linear decrease of weight with use of coins; independence of correlation and denomination; continuation of 34 for modern coins.

43. A test of significance for multiple observations: *Current Science 11.* 1942. 271-274. A tentative approach to statistics in function-space.

44. Progress in the production and consumption of textile goods in India: *J. Ind. Merchants' Chamber* (Bombay), Jan. 1943, 11-15. Published as by "Vidyarthi" and Miss Sushila Gokhale.

45. Race and immunity in India: *New Indian Antiquary 6.* 1943. 29-33. Shows that the supposed immunity of the Hunzas is due to a rigorous climate as Darwinian selective agency.

46. Statistics in function space: *J. Ind. Math. Soc. 7.* 1943. 76-88. Shows how statistics may be extended to a population of functions by using orthogonal functions and integral equations.

47. The estimation of map distance from recombination values: *Annals of Eugenics 12.* 1944. 172-175.

48. Soviet victory and the world revolution: *Indo-Soviet Journal 2.* (Nov. 7, 1943), p. 6. Shows that the theory of world revolution had not been abandoned by the USSR, as of that date.

49. The Parvasaṁgraha of the Mahābhārata: *JAOS, 66* (2), 1946, 110-117; followed by the counts of E. D. Kulkarni, *ibid,* 118-144. First complete discussion of the problem and of V. S. Sukthankar's concept of a "fluid text".

50. The geometric method in mathematical statistics: *Am. Math. Monthly 51.* 1944. 382-389. Derivation of all elementary distributions by the geometric method first introduced by R.A. Fisher.

51. The Law of large numbers: *Math. Student 14.* 1946. 14-19.

52. The change in the Soviet constitution: *Indo-Soviet Journal 2.* (9). 1944.

53. Direct derivation of series spectra: *Current Science* 13. 1944. 71.

54. Caste and class in India: *Science and Society 8.* 243-249. Comment on an article by P. Rosas on the subject.

55. Parallelism in the tensor analysis of partial differential equations: Bulletin *Am. Math. Soc. 51* 1945, 293–296.
56. Soviet Science: What can it teach us? *Indo-Soviet Journal 11–13*. June 22, 1944.
57. George David Birkhoff: 1884–1944 (Obituary). *Math Student 12*. 1944. 116–120.
58. The Raman effect (Anonymous, as by an "Indian Scientist"), *People Age.* July 22, 1945.
59. Some extant versions of Bhartṛhari's *Śatakas*: *JBBRAS 21.* 1945. 17–32.
60. On the authorship of the Śatakatrayī: *JOR* (Madras) *15.* 1946. 64–77.
61. *The Śatakatrayam of Bhartṛhari with the commentary of Rāmarṣi*, edited in collaboration with Pt. K. V. Krishnamoorthi Sharma, Poona 1945, 2 + 140 + 6 + 1, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 127.
62. The Village community in the "old conquests" of Goa: *J. Uni. Bombay 15* (4). 1947. 63–78.
63. Sur la différentiation covariante: Comptes Rendus (Paris) *222.* 1946. 211–213.
64. Silver punch-marked coins with special reference to the East Khandesh Hoard: *J. Num. Soc. Ind. 8.* 1946. 63–66.
65. Early stages of the caste system in northern India: *JBBRAS 22.* 1946. 33–48.
66. *The Southern Archetype of Epigrams ascribed to Bhartṛhari.* Bhāratīya Vidyā Series 9, Bombay, 1946. 176 + 13 + 8. The first critical edition of any Bhartṛhari recension.
67. An extension of the least-squares method of statistical estimation. *Annals of Eugenics, 13,* 1947, 257–261.
68. Parvasaṁgraha figures for the Bhīṣma-Parvan: (with E. D. Kulkarni) *JAOS 71.* 1951. 21–25.
69. Some applications of the functional calculus. (Presidential Address to the Mathematics Section of the Indian Science Congress, Delhi, Jan. 1947, completely ruined in the printing; no proof shown to the author).
70. Les invariants differentiels d'un tenseur covariant a deux indices: *Comptes Rendus 225*, 1947. 790–792. Also Differential invariants of a two-index tensor, *Bull. Am. Math. Soc. 55.* 1949. 90–94.
71. Early Brahmins and Brahminism: *JBBRAS 23.* 1947. 39–46.
72. Systems of partial differential equations of the second order. *Quart. J. Math. 19.* 1948. 204–219.
73. *The Epigrams Attributed to Bhrtṛhari.* (Singhī Jain Series 23) Bombay, 1948; pp. viii + 82 + 240. This is the first comprehensive edition of the poet's works and still remains the

editio princeps, being cited in books on Indian text-criticism as a landmark in critical methods.

74. Chronological order of punch-marked coins– I: *JBBRAS*, *25*. 1948-9, 33-47.
75. Characteristic properties of series distributions. *Proc. Nat. Inst. Sci.* (India) *15*. 1949. 109-113; see no. 33; sequel in no. 108.
76. Lie Rings in Path-space: *Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci.* (U. S. A.) *35*. 1949. 389-394.
77. The Avatāra syncretism and possible sources of the *Bhagvad-Gīta*: *JBBRAS 24-25*. 1948-49, 121-134.
78. Marxsim and ancient Indian culture (adverse review of S. A. Dange's "India from Primitive Communism to Slavery"): *ABORI 29*. 1949. 271-277. Reprinted in *India Today*.
79. On the Origin of Brahmin Gotras: *JBBRAS 26*. 1950. 21-80.
80. Series Expansions of continous Groups: *Quart. J. Math.* (2). *2*. 1951. 244-257.
81. Chronological order of punch-marked coins-II: The Bodenāyakanūr Hoard: *JBBRAS 26*. 1951. 214–218.
82. Urvaśī and Purūravas: JBBRAS 27. 1951. 1-30. Reprinted in *Indian Studies: Past & Present*, vol. 1. Calcutta 1959. 141-175, and in 122* below.
83. On a Marxist approach to Indian chronology: *ABORI 31*. 1951. 258-266.
84. Seasonal variations in the Indian birth-rate (with S. Raghavachari): *Ann. Eugenics 16*. 1951. 165-192. Cited for use of polar coordinates in periodic biological phenomena. Presents considerations on birth control also.
85. Path-spaces admitting collineations: *Quart. J.Math.* (2) *3*. 1952. 1-11.
86. The Cintāmaṇi-sāraṇikā of Daśabala: *Supplement* to *JOR* (Madras), 1952, 8 + 15; edition of a Sanskrit astronomical work, which shows incidentally that king Bhoja of Dhārā died in 1055-6.
87. The Sanskrit equivalents of two Pali words: *ABORI 32*. 1952. 53-60. Gives the correct derivation of *sammapāso* and *vassakāra*.
88. Path-Geometry and continuous groups: *Quart. J. Math.* (2) *3*. 1952. 307-320.
89. Imperialism and Peace: *Monthly Review*. *3*. 1951. 45-49.
90. Ancient Kosala and Magadha: *JBBRAS 27*. 1952. 180-213.
91. Science and freedom: *Monthly Review 4*. 1952. 200-205; in longer form *Vijñān-Karmee 4*. October 1952. 5-11.
92. Geldner's Ṛgveda: *JOR* (Madras), 1952, 291-295 (essay review, with special attention to words like *ibhya*).

93. Chronological order of punch-marked coins–III: The Paila Hoard: *JBBRAS 27*. 1952. 261–271.

94. Brahmin clans: *JAOS 73*. 1953. 202–208. Review and critique of J. Brough's book: *The early brahmanical system of gotra and pravara*, (Cambridge, 1953). Mistaken for a polemic.

95. Seasonal variation in the Indian death rate (with S. Raghavachari): *Annals of Human Genetics 19*. 1954. 100–119; complements no. 84.

96. The Periodization of Indian History. *ISCUS 1*, 1954, pp. 40–55. Arbitrarily changed by the editors, without consulting the author.

97. Notes on the class structure of India: *Monthly Review 6*. 1954, 205–213; see 109, below.

98. The metric in path space: *Tensor* (New Series), *3*. 1954. 67-74

99. What constitutes Indian History? *ABORI 35*. 1955. 194–201. Essay review of the first three volumes of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan's history of India.

100. The basis of ancient Indian history–1: *JAOS 75*. 1955. 35–45; II, *ibid*. 226–237.

101. The working class in the *Amarakośa*: *JOR* (Madras) *24*. 1955. 57–69. Shows the existence of a hierarchical principle in the *Amarakośa* classification.

102. Origins of feudalism in Kaśmīr: *JBBRAS* (Sārdhaśatābdi volume). 1956–7. 108–120.

103. Indo-Ariiskii Nosovoi Ukazatel': Sovetskaya Etnografia (Ak. Nauk USSR), No. 1, 1958, 39–57. Demonstrates the unreliability of nasal-index data in theorising about Indian racial groups.

104. On the development of feudalism in India: *ABORI 36*, 1956. 258–269; adverse critique of Soviet Professor K. A. Antonova's theories.

105. The method of least squares: (Chinese text, Ac. Sinica, unknown publicalion, in 1957). *Journal of the Ind. Soc. Agricultural Statistics 11*. 1959. 49–57. Solves abstract equations, including integral equations for atomic piles (diffusion).

106. The *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* of Vidyākara (*ed.* with V. V. Gokhale *HOS*, *42*, 1957. The oldest known general anthology of classical Sanskrit verse. A fragment was edited by F. W. Thomas under the erroneously conjectured title *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya* (Calcutta, 1912).

107. *Introduction to the study of Indian History*. Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1956. See particularly the reviews by A. L. Basham (*BSOAS*), D. H. H. Ingalls (*JAOS*) L. Renou (*JA*).

108. Classical Tauberian theorems: *J. Ind. Soc. Ag. Stats. 10*, 1958, 141–149. Points out intimate connection with probability distributions, leading to improved methods.

109. *Exasperating Essays*: People's Book House, Poona, 1957. Republication of 23, 27, 37, 97 above; and some other writings.

110. The efficiency of randomization by card shuffling. (With U. V. R. Rao). *J. Royal Stat. Soc. 121*-ii. 1958. 223–233. Analysis of statistical defects underlying para-psychological experiments.

111. Dhenukākaṭa: *JBBRAS 30*. 1957. 50–71. Identification of the ancient Greek colony in Maharashtra. Also, complete text and translation of all known Brāhmī inscriptions in Māval caves, including one from Kārle hitherto unpublished. The first photograph of the Sphinx on a Kārle pillar.

112. The text of the *Arthaśāstra*: *JAOS 78*, 1958, 169–173. Shows that about a quarter of the original work is lost, but more or less uniformly over the whole text.

113. The basis of despotism: *Economic Weekly* (Bombay) Nov. 2, 1957; *pp*. 1417–9. Review of K. A. Wittfogel's *Oriental Despotism*.

114. Notes on the Kandāhār edict of Asoka: *JESHO 2*. 1959. 204–6.

115. China's communes: *Monthly Review* 10. 1959. 425–429.

116. Primitive communism: *New Age* (Monthly) *8* (2) Feb. 1959; pp. 26–39 First treatment of 'communism' in primitive society, without idealization of ethnographic data.

117. Social and Economic Aspects of the *Bhagvad-Gītā*: *JESHO 4*. 1961. 198–224. Revision of an article originally published in *ENQUIRY 2*, 1959, 1–20.

118. Indian feudal trade charters: *JESHO 2*. 1959, 281–293. Special treatment of the Viṣṇusena charter of 592 *A.D.*, correcting D. C. Sircar's gruesome mistakes.

119. An application of stochastic convergence: *J. Ind. Soc. Ag. Stats. 11*, 1959, 58–72; shows that if the primes in suitably defined covering intervals behave like an unbiassed random sample, then the Riemann hypotheses follows.

120. At the crossroads: *JRAS* (London) 1960, 17–31; 135–144. Russian translation in *Indicheskii Etnograficheskii Sbornik* (1961) 45–65.

121. Kaṇiṣka and the Śaka era: *Marg* April 1962; also *JBBRAS* 1962. *35*, 36–37. Originally presented and accepted as a late paper to the Kaṇiṣka conference, *SOAS*, London. April 20–22, 1960. Identifies Kaṇiṣka I with Soter Megas and Kaṇiṣka II with the king of the coins.

122. *Myth & Reality/Studies in the formation of Indian Culture.* Bombay, 1962. Reprints of 117, 82, 120, and 62 with illustrations, an introduction, with a new chapter on the prehistory of Mahārāṣṭra, based on the writer's own field-work.

123. Pierced microliths from the western Deccan plateau : *MAN* Jan 1962, note *4*, pp. 10–12. Apparently the first announcement of such microliths.

124. Megāliths in the Poona District : *MAN*, May 1962 ; note no. 108 pp. 65–7 + plate.

125. The sampling distribution of primes : *Proc. Nat. Acad. Sciences* (USA) *49*. 1963. 20–23. Shows that the primes numbers iu intervals of fixed length on the real line transformed by $y=$li (x) occur in a Poisson distribution.

126. Combined methods in Indology : *Indo-Iranian Journal 6.* 1963. 177–202. By special iuvitation of the editors, to show that philology, history, archaeology and anthropology have to be combined to geą valid results in any one of these fields ; which, treated in isolation, leads to wrong conclusions otherwise.

127. Adventure into the unknown : *Asian Thought.* (A note on the writer's personal philosophy as a scientist and research worker; by invitation of the editors, in a symposium by the Andhra University Dept. of philosophy ; yet to appear in print).

128. Prehistoric Rock Engravings near Poona : *MAN* April 1963, note 60, pp. 57–8.

129. The autochthonous element in the *Mahābhārata* : JAOS *84.* 31–44.

130. Statistical methods in number theory : *J. Ind. Soc, Ag. States*, *16*. 1964. 126–135.

131. An inscription at Palasdev of *Śaka* 1079 : *JBBRAS 38.* 1963. 69–73. An unnoticed but old reference to the Smārta-vaiṣṇava controversy.

132. Staple 'Grains' in the wastern Deccan : *MAN* : note 156 of August 1963 (pp. 130–1); with additlons, JBBRAS (to appear).

133. *The Culture & Civilization of Ancient India in historical outline.*
German translation (to appear)
English version : London (Routledge & Kegas Paul) 1965.
French translation : (to appear).
Japanese translation, by T. Yamazaki (Iwanami & Co. 1966).

134. The beginning of the iron age in India : *JESHO 6.* 1963. 309–318. Places this important change at about 800–700 BC, much earlier than D. H. Gordon and Mortimer Wheeler would have it.

135. Normal sequences. (S. Ducray): *J. Uni. Bombay 31.* 1962–63. 1–4.
136. Probability and prime numbers. (S. Ducray) : *Prac. Ind. Acad. Soc. A.* 60. 1964. 159–164.
137. Review of F. R. Allchin's Piklihal excavations in *MAN*, Sept. Oct. 1964, pp. 163–4.
138. The vedic 'Five Tribes': *JAOS.*
139. The sequence of primes. (S. Ducray) : *Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci. A. 62.* 1965. 145–149.
140. The Historical Krishna : *Times of Indian Annual.* 1965. 27–36.
141. An Ashokan Pillar/Banaras mystery : *Times of India* (daily) Jan. 28, 1965.
142. Numismatics as a science : *Scientific American.* March 1965.
143. Chronological order of punch-marked coins of the Amarāvatī Hoard. (?)
144. Living pre-history in India. : Scientific American. Feb. 1967
145. The line of Arthaśāstra Teachers. (?)
146. Prime Numbers. : Monograph completed a few days before the author's death. Not yet published.

PROFESSOR LOUIS RENOU

We place on record our sense of deep sorrow at the sad death of Professor Louis Renou, which occurred at Vermov, France, on August 18, 1966. The amazingly extensive contributions made by Professor Renou to the various branches of Sanskrit philology, in the course of the last forty years, constitute one of the most significant features of Indological research in Europe in recent times. His achievement in the field of Vedic philology and Sanskrit grammar is, indeed, of an outstanding character, and his works such as *Vedic Bibliography*, *Masters of Vedic Philology*, *Vedic Schools and Formation of the Veda*, fifteen volumes of *Vedic and Pāṇinian Studies*, *French translation of Pāṇini's Grammar* (3 volumes), the edition of Śaraṇadeva's *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, *Sanskrit Grammar* (2 volumes), *History of Sanskrit Language*, *Grammar of the Vedic Language*, *Grammatical Terminology of Sanskrit*, Introduction to Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*, *Classical India*, *Religions of Ancient India*, and *Hinduism: Text and Doctrines*, besides numerous papers and monographs, relating to Vedic vocabulary, Linguistics, and exegesis, are remarkable monuments of comprehensive learning, critical scholarship; wide outlook, sound judgement and lucid presentation. Professor Renou was a most prolific writer, and it was often difficult, even for a specialist in the subject to keep pace with his writing.

Professor Renou trained and guided a large number of students, among them, many Indians–in Paris, Tokyo, and Boston. His attitude towards the other workers in the field was always appreciative and encouraging as evince his numerous Reviews which were both critical and sympathatic.

Professor Renou visited Inda in 1948. He attended the Darbhanga Session of the All India Oriental Conference, lectured at several centres of higher study and research in the country, and spent the major part of his time at Poona, actively collaborating in the project of *Sanskrit Thesaurus* at the Deccan College Research Institute. His versatile scholarship and amiable personality had made a very deep impression on his Indian colleagues during his sojourn in this country. He was the recipient of many high honours and distinctions, among them the Honorary Membership of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

In Professor Renou, Indology has lost one of its ablest votaries, and students and teachers of Sanskrit in many parts of the world a true friend, guide, and philosopher.

—Ed.

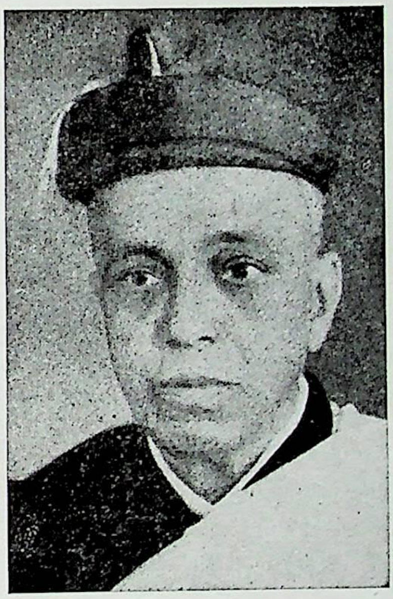
DR. SHRIPAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR

We express deep sorrow at the sad death of Professor Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, which occurred at Poona on January 8, 1967. The many and varied contributions made by Dr. Belvalkar in the field of Veda, Grammar, Epics, Classical Sanskrit Literature, Poetics, Indian philosophy, and Textual Criticism reflect the astonishingly wide range of his interest and scholarship.

Even while he had still been a student in College, Belvalkar had visualized what was going to be one of his life's missions. He believed that a History of Indian philosophy ought to be written by Indians themselves, and decided that he might himself undertake this project. As an adequate preparation for this self-imposed task, he appeared for the M. A. examination, three times, with three different subjects, namely, Sanskrit, History, and Philosophy, and passed each time with great credit. That was a record in the history of the University of Bombay. Later, with a view to equipping himself with the research methodology developed in the West, Belvalkar went to U. S. A., and, working at Harvard University, under Professor Lanman, obtained his Ph. D. But, even before he had left for U. S. A. for higher studies, he had written his magnificent monograph on the *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, which, even today, that is, more than half a century after its publication, continues to be regarded as authoritative.

It was, however, with his appointment as Professor of Sanskrit in the Deccan College, Poona, that Dr. Belvalkar's scholarly career must be said to have properly begun. Ever conscious that he was occupying the chair which had once been occupied by that great savant R. G. Bhandarkar, Belvalkar taught in the Deccan College, almost until it was closed down in 1933, with single-minded devotion and undivided zeal. It was also during his tenure at the Deccan College that he made his many contributions to Sanskritic and Indological Studies. *The Creative Period*, which constitutes the Second Volume in the History of Indian Philosophy which Belvalkar had planned in collaboration with Prof. R. D. Ranade, has, with its historical, stylometric, and analytical approach to the study of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, blazed a new trail in the field of the history of philosophy. In his monumental *Basu Mallik Lectures* he has successfully applied the historical method to the Study of Vedānta. His excellent critical editions of, among others, the *Uttararāmacarita*, the *Kāvyādarśa* and the *Śārīraka Bhāṣya* have proved

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar



Born 10-12-1880] [Died 8-1-1967

a veritable boon to students of these subjects in India and outside. The *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Śākuntala* were the subjects of his special study, and, on account of his numerous original papers dealing with these two works, he had come to be looked upon as a great authority on them. Among his other scholarly contributions may be mentioned those dealing with Māṭharavṛtti and Date of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, Literary Strata in the Ṛgveda, Bhāsa and Śūdraka, Undercurrents of Jainism, and Paryaṅka-vidyā in the *Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad*.

On the organisational side of Oriental Research, Belvalkar's most remarkable achievement must be said to be the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which he founded in 1917 in cooperation with his friends and colleagues. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute today occupies a position of great eminence in the world of scientific orientology, but the credit for its inception and initial growth must largely go to Belvalkar. Belvalkar was also mainly instrumental in the starting of the All-India Oriental Conference which is now justly recognised as the Central forum of Indian Orientalists.

Belvalkar devoted the last years of his life to the great project of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*. He served as the General Editor of the *Mahābhārata* for full eighteen years (1943-1961) and himself edited the *Bhīṣma, Śānti, Āśramavāsika, Mausala, Mahāprasthānika,* and *Svargārohaṇa parvans.* During the last few years, he often expressed his sincere regret for his inability, owing to steadily failing health, to do any serious literary work. It was, however, a momentous occasion in his life when he saw with his own eyes the successful completion of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*.

Honours came to Dr. Belvalkar in quick succession. He was Sectional President at three different Sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference and was elected General President of the Conference in 1943. He was Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Asiatic Society of Bombay. He served as Honorary Secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the All India Oriental Conference for many years. The President of India awarded him a Certificate of Honour in 1960. His indefatigable efforts for the resurrection of the Deccan College need to be specially mentioned.

In Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Sanskrit Studies and Indology have lost one of their brightest luminaries.

—Ed.

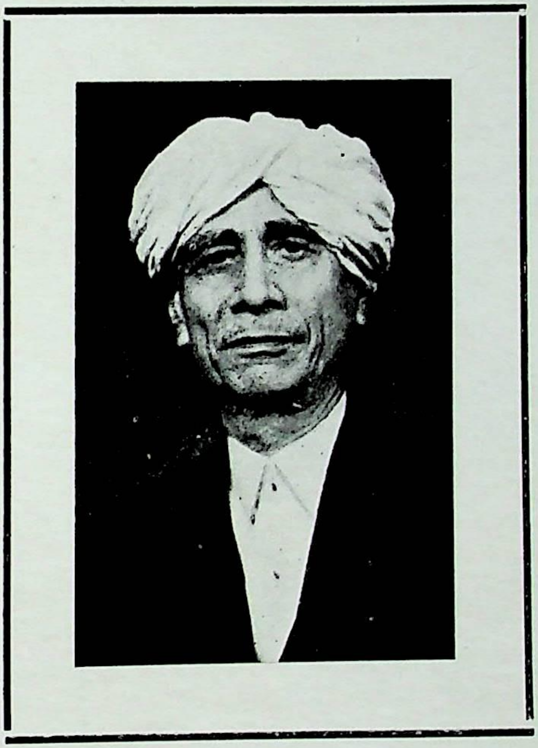
PROF. HARI DAMODAR VELANKAR

We express profound sorrow at the sad death of Professor H. D. Velankar, which occurred at Bombay on January 13, 1967. Professor Velankar's learned contributions in the field of Veda, Classical Sanskrit, Metrics, Rhetorics, Prakrits, and Manuscriptology, during the last forty years, have considerably enriched Indological research. Above all, his inspiring guidance has proved a veritable blessing to Sanskrit study and research inasmuch as he has trained for the degree of Ph. D. a large number of students in a variety of fields and has thus equipped young scholars with the essentials of research methodology. Affectionately called "Guruji" by his students, Professor Velankar was both a father and a mother to them.

Professor Velankar started his literary career with his work on the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. This provided a solid foundation for his future versatile scholarship. Characterized by thoroughness and precision, the Descriptive Catalogue prepared by him set a model for his successors in the field. Among his other works of this type may be mentioned the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Ichchharam Suryaram Desai Collection of the Bombay University Library, and more particularly the *Jinaratnakośa*, which latter is more than a Jain Catalogus Catalogorum, and amply reflects the assiduous and indefatigable labours of the learned compiler. Professor Velankar's many contributions to the study of metrics, such as the *Vṛttajātisamuccaya*, the *Svayambhūcchandas*, the *Kavidarpaṇa*, the *Jayadāman*, the *Ratnamanjūṣā* and the *Chandonuśāsana* must be regarded as being of a pioneering character, because the subject of metrics was till then almost untouched. Side by side, he has dealt with such topics as "Metres and Music" and "*Ṛgvedic* Similes." Professor Velankar edited the *Sauptika-parvan* in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Vikramorvaśīya* for the Sahitya Akademi.

His chief interest however was Vedic Studies, and his English Translation of the Indra and Agni Hymns in the *Ṛgveda*, with critical and exegetical notes, have won international reputation for him and have evoked encomia from scholars like *Renou*, *Thieme* and *Ingalls*. In his Marathi Lectures on the Concept of Bhakti in the Veda, he has shown that the Indra hymns express the doctrins of *bhakti* better than the Varuṇa hymns. His excellent edition of *Ṛgveda* Maṇḍala VII, with introduction, English translation and notes, has been admirably serving the needs of both the student and the scholar. His *Ṛksūkta–vaijayantī*

Prof. H. D. Velankar



Born 18-10-1893]   [Died 13-1-1967

contains 108 hymns from the *Ṛgveda* with *padapāṭha*, Hindi translation and valuable appendices and indices, and will go a long way in popularising the study of the *Ṛgveda* in the Hindi-speaking regions. Besides these works, Prof. Velankar has written numerous articles on Vedic subjects covering a variety of topics, such as "Magicians in the Ṛgveda", "Ṛta and Satya in the Ṛgveda," "Creation Hymns in the Ṛgveda," "Divodāsa Atithigva and other Atithigvas," "Story of Saptavadhri and Vadhrimatī," and "Word Economy and Ṛgvedic Interpretation."

Professor Velankar always lent a helping hand to other workers in the field and readily encouraged them. In him one saw a rare combination of a successful teacher and a sound scholar, and his versatile learning was matched by his winning personality. This made him a welcome visitor wherever he went.

Professor Velankar was a member of the Regulating Council and the Executive Board of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for many years. He was also a member of the Editorial Board of the Mahābhārata and Editor of the Annals. He was an important member of the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference, and had presided over the Vedic Section and the Prakrit and Jainism Section of the Conference. Professor Velankar was Vice-President of the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, and a member of the Council of Management and of the Editorial Board of the Dictionary Department of the Deccan College Research Institute. He served on various bodies of different Universities in India. In 1962, Prof. Velankar was awarded the Certificate of Merit by the President of India.

In Professor Velankar, Indology has lost an earnest votary, his pupils their revered "Guruji", and students and teachers of Sanskrit a true friend, philosopher, and guide.

—Ed.

DR. N. J. SHENDE

We are deeply grieved at the sad death of Dr. N. J. Shende, which occurred at Poona on 20th March 1967.

After a brilliant career at the Wilson College, Bombay, Dr. Shende started his research career with his '*Bhārgava Element in the Mahābhārata*' for which he got Ph.D. from the Bombay University (1941). Hs then turned to the Veda and presented the results of his research in that field in three volumes :

(1) *Foundations of the Atharvanic Religion (1951)*.,
(2) *Religion and Philosophy of the Atharva-Veda (1952)*.,
and (3) *Mythology of the Yajur-Veda (1958)*.

After a long career as a successful teacher and Research Guide, he joined in C. A. S. S. in January 1965 and has since completed his next work, *Kavi and Kāvya in the Atharva-Veda* (1967) and has been working on a big project in which he intended to discuss the relation of the *Saṁhitās* with the later Vedic literary strata from the *Brāhmaṇa* upto the *Kalpasūtra*. As a first instalment of this project he has put together his findings concerning the *Ṛv. Saṁhitā* and the other strata of *Ṛv. literature*.

By his able, gentle and efficient influence and example, he has inspired a large number of students to research and several of them have got Ph.D. and doing research in their own way.

Dr. Shende was also an N. C. C. officer for several years during which period he endeavoured himself to students as well as collegues by his efficiency in managing things, diligence in being useful to others as best as he could and yet extreme reluctance to cause any trouble even to his nearest friends. His extremely courteous manners, have won him a very large circle of friends and admirers in varied fields.

Only recently he was elected to the Executive Council of the All India Oriental Conference at Aligarh.

In Dr. Shende's demise Indology has sustained a heavy loss, and students, friends and admirers a hearty and inspiring smile and guidance.

—Ed.

THE COMPLETION OF

The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata

THE COMPLETION OF THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

Thursday, the 22nd of September 1966, will be ever remembered as a red-letter day in the history of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. For, at a function held on that day, Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, President of India, made the formal announcement of the publication of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* (edited by R. N. DANDEKAR) and the consequent completion of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*.

This simple but graceful and dignified function was held in a tastefully decorated pandal specially erected on the grounds of the Institute and was attended by over a thousand invitees, who were greeted on their arrival by melodious tunes of *Sanai*. In the foreground of the dais, facing the audience, there was placed in a beautiful mahogany cabinet a complete set of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*. An illustrated *Souvenir* outlining the history of the project was issued on the occasion.

The function started at 10-20 a.m. with prayers. Dr. P. V. CHERIAN, Governor of Maharashtra State and President of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, then welcomed President RADHAKRISHNAN and the guests. In the course of his speech, he said :

" A fifty-year dream nourished through two generations comes to fruition today. The critical edition of India's great epic begun in 1919 is now complete. The great scholars who embarked on this momentous task and their generous patrons could not have asked for a more distinguished figure than our revered President to honour this historic occasion and to announce to the world of scholarship the completion of this work.

" Vyāsa was a many-sided genius, a great thinker and gifted poet. Such indeed was the range of his imagination and the grasp of his intellect that we have come to believe that only a veritable *avatāra* of God himself could have accomplished the task that Vyāsa set for himself. *Mahābhārata* is referred to as the fifth Veda. We speak of the four goals of life. We have come to believe that all that need to be known by man about these goals will be found to have been treated here. The epic mirrors for us the entire way of life that prevailed in this land in our classical age. The roots of our many-splendoured heritage can be easily traced through the *Mahābhārata*. There is, as you know, another saying that the sage Vyāsa left nothing worthwhile out of his epic.

" In preserving this heritage and providing us with an authoritative edition, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has laid the world in its debt.

" We are today discharging a debt of gratitude to the memory of the gifted scholars who gave their entire lifetime to this work and the many patrons who made this work possible.

" It is our good fortune that the President is with us today to announce the completion of this work. He symbolizes in himself all that is best in our culture and our dharma. He has repeatedly emphasised for us the lesson of the *Mahābhārata*: Where there is dharma, there shall be victory.

" This Institute has built up a great tradition of research and scholarship. Its achievement will now spur it on to equally great endeavour in other spheres of our civilization. I am sure, we will have our Rashtrapati's blessings and inspiration in this noble task. "

Dr. CHERIAN was followed by Dr. P. L. VAIDYA, General Editor of the Mahābhārata, who made the following statement regarding the Critical Edition:

" I consider it a great privilege to stand before you as General Editor at a function which marks the completion of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*. I particularly rejoice at the thought that I happen to be one of the few persons now living, who had attended the meeting, nearly half a century ago, at which the proposal for a Critical Edition of the Great Epic of India was first mooted, and the function held in April 1919, at which the actual project was inaugurated by Ramkrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR, and are now privileged to attend today's function, at which the completion of the project is being announced by Dr. Radhakrishnan. I thus feel that we have in this project the presence of Ramakrishna at its inauguration, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana or Maharṣi Vyāsa and Lord Kṛṣṇa as our daily guides, and Radhakrishnan to announce its completion. Has it not been said:

आदौ अन्ते च मध्ये च कृष्णः सर्वत्र गीयते ?

" A *Souvenir* containing the academic, chronological, financial and statistical information regarding this project of the Critical Edition of the Great Epic of *Mahābhārata* has, I trust, been already placed in your hands. It saves your time and my speech which otherwise would have tired you out. A look at the array of the *Mahābhārata* Volumes in front of you or its photograph in the *Souvenir* will convince you of its weight, and even a casual reading of any of its pages will, I am sure, convey to you its great value in your life. Even Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana or Maharṣi Vyāsa has told us that the *Mahābhārata* is so called because of its intrinsic value and weight:

महत्त्वाद्भारवत्त्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते ।

"The project of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* took us full forty-eight years to complete. It is the biggest Epic, not only of India but of the entire world, having a wide currency from Kashmir in the north-west, Nepal and Bengal in the north-east, and Kanyā-Kumārī and Kerala in the extreme south. Its manuscript material lay buried in not less than 12 different scripts from the Śāradā script of Kashmir to the Malayalam script of Kerala. The material used for preparing these manuscripts consisted of the *bhūrjapatra* (birch-bark), *tālapatra* (palm-leaf), and *vaṁśapatra* (paper) of various ages. The traditional extent of the text of *Mahābhārata* is one hundred thousand verses. The number of manuscripts handled and examined for the Critical Edition is nearly 1300; the number of those actually used, about 800. The extent of the Critical Edition in printed form is 13,000 pages of demi quarto size. It is no wonder, therefore, that it took us nearly half a century to complete the critical text.

"From among the ancillary works, the Critical Edition of the *Harivaṁśa*, which is in progress, will cover 2,000 pages. The *Index* of quarter-verses, numbering six hundred thousand (6,00,000) entries, which will soon go to the press, will cover about 4,000 pages, and the projected *Epilogue* nearly 2,000 pages. We have up to now incurred an expenditure of Rs. 16,00,000 on the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* and shall require Rs. 6,00,000 more for the ancillary works mentioned above. So far our grants have amounted to Rs. 13,00,000 only. We must, therefore, obtain, in the course of the next five years, 8 to 9 lakhs of rupees by way of grants and donations.

"This does not mean that the Institute has been spending lavishly on this undertaking. I may give you a few glimpses in this respect. The late Dr. SUKTHANKAR, the first General Editor, was paid a salary of Rs. 500 per month for a period of nearly 18 years. After his death in 1943, the Institute found that it could pay to the General Editor not more than Rs. 250 a month. When, therefore, a scholar of the eminence of Dr. BELVALKAR, who had held a post in the Indian Education Service, was appointed General Editor, we could not offer him more than Rs. 250 per month as salary. In order to make this paltry sum look dignified, we started referring to his "salary" as "*honorarium of Rs. 3,000 per annum.*" Out of his 18 years of General Editorship, Dr. BELVALKAR received this honorarium for 10 years only, and, although the cost of living was steadily rising all those years, the amount of his honorarium of Rs. 3,000 per annum actually happened to dwindle down to a zero. The Parvan-editors were paid at the rate of Rs. 5/- per printed page of demi quarto size, no doubt, but this rate, in my opinion as well as in actual experience, worked out to be not more than *one rupee a day*. The departmental staff was paid a salary every month, but, according to Government Audit Party visiting the Institute annually, it was far

below the standard. I am recounting these facts in order to bring them to the urgent attention of Governments, Public Institutions, and individual donors, and impress upon them that we still require their patronage for a few years more so as to be able to wipe out our old liabilities and meet our further expenditure on ancillary works now in progress. We are out of worries on account of the *Harivaṁśa*, and our grateful thanks go to the Government of India and the State of Maharashtra who have jointly undertaken the full financial responsibility for the project. Would it be too much to expect from them and other patrons the necessary finances for the work on the *Index* and the *Epilogue* during the next five years ?

" It is but natural that we should gratefully remember our patrons on this occasion. In this connection, I must first mention the name of the late Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi whose promise of a lakh of Rupees in 1918 made it possible for the Institute to undertake the project. I should also like to state that the Government of India is our biggest donor, closely followed by the State of Maharashtra (Bombay) and the Universities of Bombay and Poona, whose grants now exceed a lakh of Rupees each. I must also not forget to mention other donors, big and small, and even our creditors who helped us in times of grave need. I also publicly record our thanks to scholars, Parvan-editors, and members of the staff, past and present, who have always given their unstinted co-operation to the General Editor, and to the keepers of manuscript-collections, private and public, who made their valuable treasures easily accessible to us. Their only reward, I believe, was the feeling that they were co-operating in a project, which, they felt sure, would go down in history as the biggest literary achievement of Indian scholarship. "

After Dr. VAIDYA's statement, Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR, requesting President RADHAKRISHNAN to announce the publication of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* and the consequent completion of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, said in his speech :

" The great *Vāṅmaya-sattra*, for which the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute had got itself initiated over four decades ago, has now been brought to a successful consummation. It is, indeed, my great good fortune that I have been privileged to offer the *pūrṇāhuti*, the concluding oblation, in this *sattra*, in the form of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* which is the last *parvan* in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* to be published by the Institute. I must, however, hasten to add that, like any other sacrifice, the project of the Critical Edition has been a huge co-operative enterprise – a veritable *saṁbhūya-samutthāna*–and the credit for its fulfilment belongs collectively to all the workers of the Institute, whether academic or non-academic. It is not at all necessary to name and thank these workers individually, for, I know for

certain that they have chosen to merge their individual personalities completely into the impersonal personality of the Bhandarkar Institute which they have served with such exemplary devotion through the last so many years. All that I would say on this occasion is that we all fondly cherish the opportunity given us to be associated with this noble work and that we humbly rejoice at the thought that we have been instrumental - to howsoever limited an extent - in the redemption of the pledge which the Institute had taken nearly half a century ago.

"It is, nevertheless, my bounden duty to pay, on this occasion, a special tribute of gratitude to the memory of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, the first General Editor of the *Mahābhārata*. For, have we, the subsequent *parvan*-editors, not been merely following in the trail so finely blazed by him? His immediate successor, Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, and the present General Editor, Dr. P. L. VAIDYA, while maintaining the scholarly standard of the Critical Edition, added substantially to the facilities of its printing and publication. All the three of them have been my revered teachers at one time or another. And, bearing the burden of their many obligations has been and will ever remain one of the proudest privileges of my life. I am particularly happy that Dr. BELVALKAR, who has been closely associated with the project of the Critical Edition, in various ways, from its very inception, is present here today to see and bless the completion of that project. At the same time, I feel deeply grieved that, out of the ten *parvan*-editors, four, namely, SUKTHANKAR, EDGERTON, RAGHU VIRA, and KARMARKAR, are unfortunately no longer alive to see the end of the work towards the fructification of which they had so ably contributed. To them, I offer, on behalf of the Institute, our respectful homage.

"With the publication of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* has been concluded. Only one ancillary part of this project, namely, the *Pāda-index*, still remains to be accomplished. It is obviously an enormous task, involving as it does over half a million verse-quarters. It is also a costly affair. But the work on it is, at present, progressing rapidly at the Institute. The Institute is also currently engaged, as the General Editor has just told you, on the Critical Edition of the *Harivaṅśa* (which is traditionally regarded as a *khila-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*) and an Epilogue to the Critical Edition. So we can by no means be said to have reached the journey's end. Indeed, we have always been guided by the dictum that every such goal reached marks but a stage in man's eternal quest.

"Revered Rashtrapatiji! In the course of my long connection with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute as its Honorary Secretary, you have always shown great solicitude for the Institute and — may I add? — for me personally. I still remember with grateful exultation the

Silver Jubilee of the Institute which was celebrated in January 1943 under your distinguished Presidentship. You had also obliged us, in November 1962, by graciously associating yourself with another important event in the history of this Institute, namely, the publication of the last Volume of Bhāratāratna Professor P. V. Kane's monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra.* And, this morning, you are again with us to grace by your presence yet another significant landmark in the Institute's history, namely, the completion of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata.* Let me humbly tell you, Sir, that our joy at the completion of the Critical Edition has enhanced manifold on account of the fact that you have kindly agreed to invoke benediction on it.

"Respected Rashtrapatiji! I have now the honour to request you, on behalf of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, to be graciously pleased formally to announce the publication of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* and the consequent completion of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata.*"

Amidst thundering cheers from the large audience, Dr. RADHAKRISHNAN, then, made the formal announcement of the publication of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* and the completion of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata.*

The next item on the programme was honouring the Mahābhārata workers. In this connection, Dr. D. R. Gadgil, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Poona and Chairman of the Regulating Council of the Institute, said:

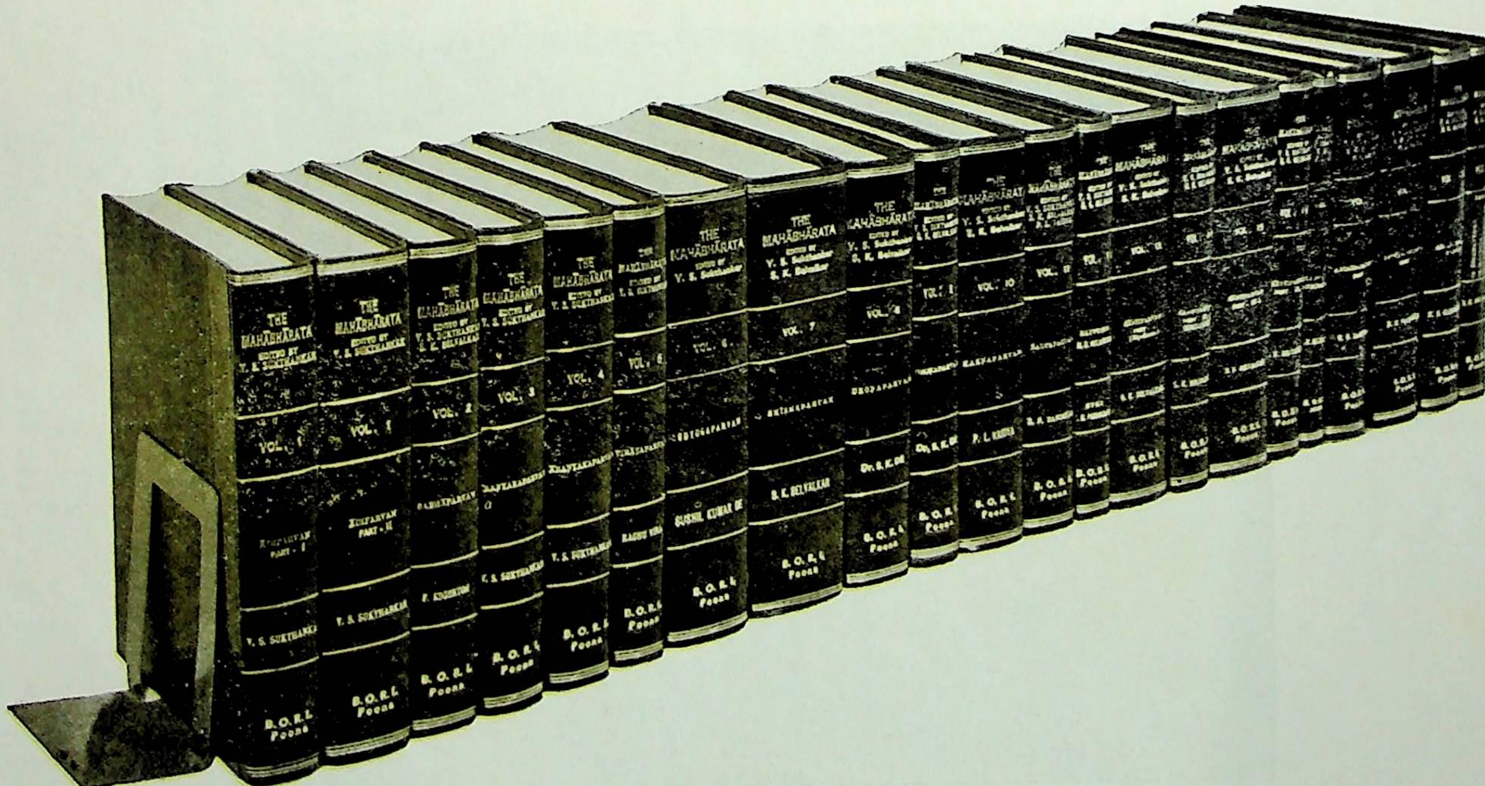
"As will be seen from the *Souvenir* issued today, ten scholars have been responsible for the editing of the different *parvans* in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata.* Four of them, namely, SUKTHANKAR, EDGERTON, RAGHU VIRA, and KARMARKAR, are unfortunately no longer alive. To them, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute pays, on this occasion, respectful and grateful homage. To the remaining six, the Institute has decided to present silver medallions as mementos of their active collaboration in the project. I, therefore, now request the President to make the presentation."

The President then presented the medallions to the following four scholars:

(1) S. K. BELVALKAR, General Editor (1943–1961) and Editor of the *Bhīṣma–, Śānti–, Āśramavāsika–, Mausala–, Mahāprasthānika–,* and *Svargārohaṇa–parvans.*

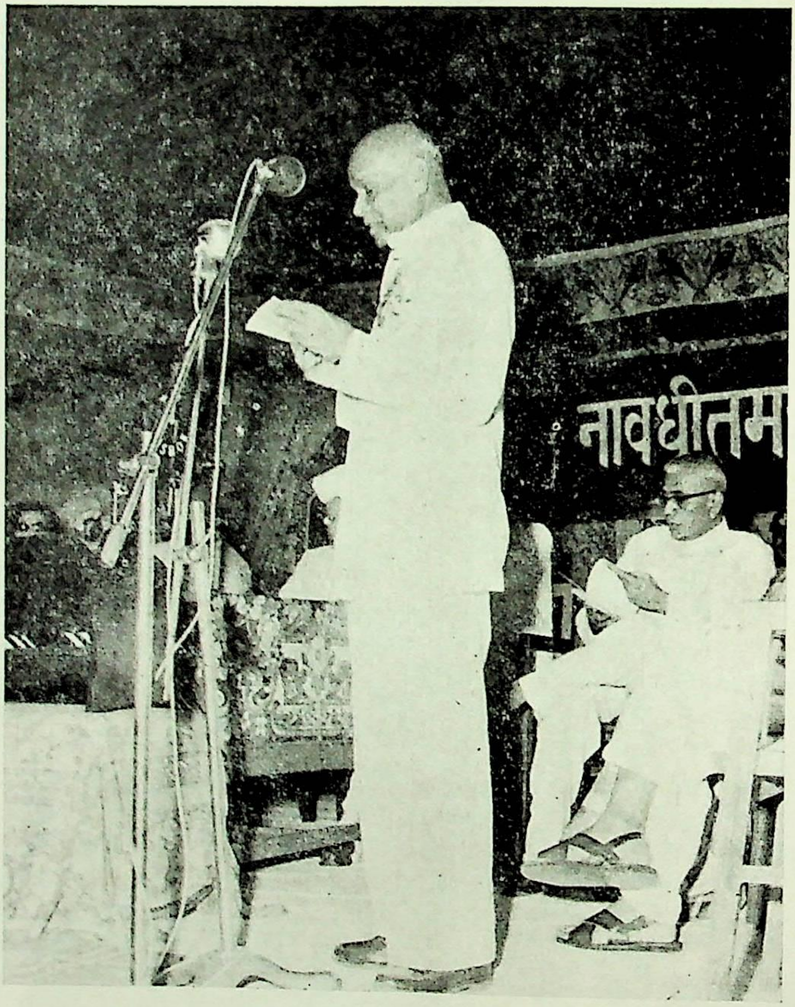
(2) P. L. VAIDYA, General Editor (since 1961) and Editor of the *Karṇaparvan.*

CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

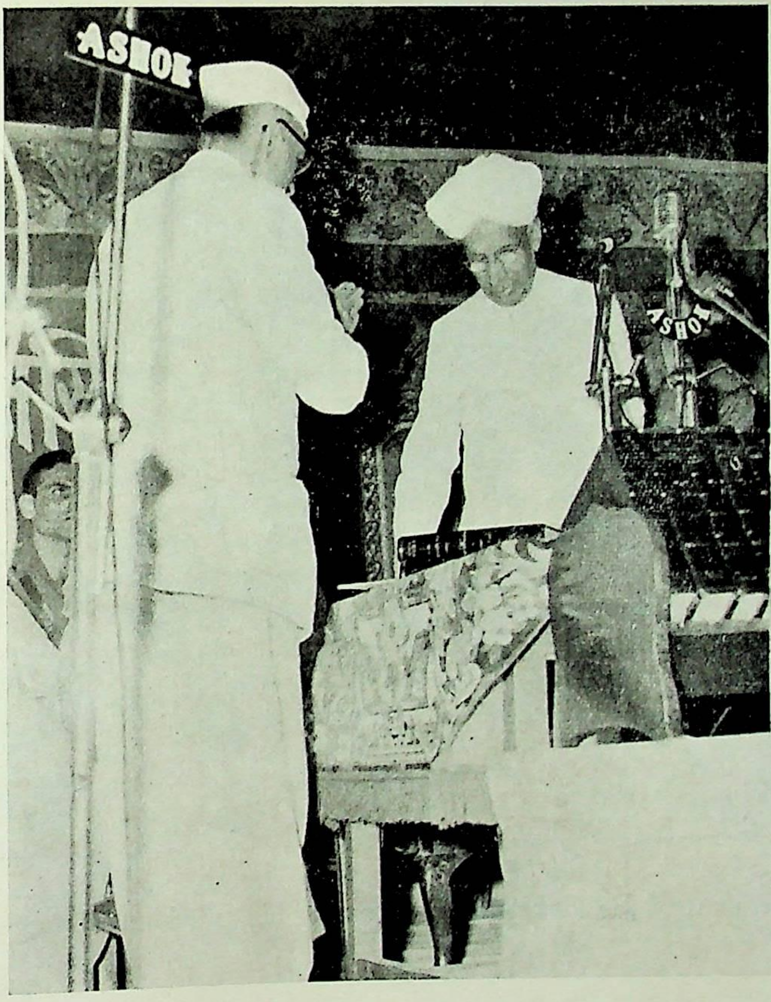


धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।
यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत्क्वचित् ॥

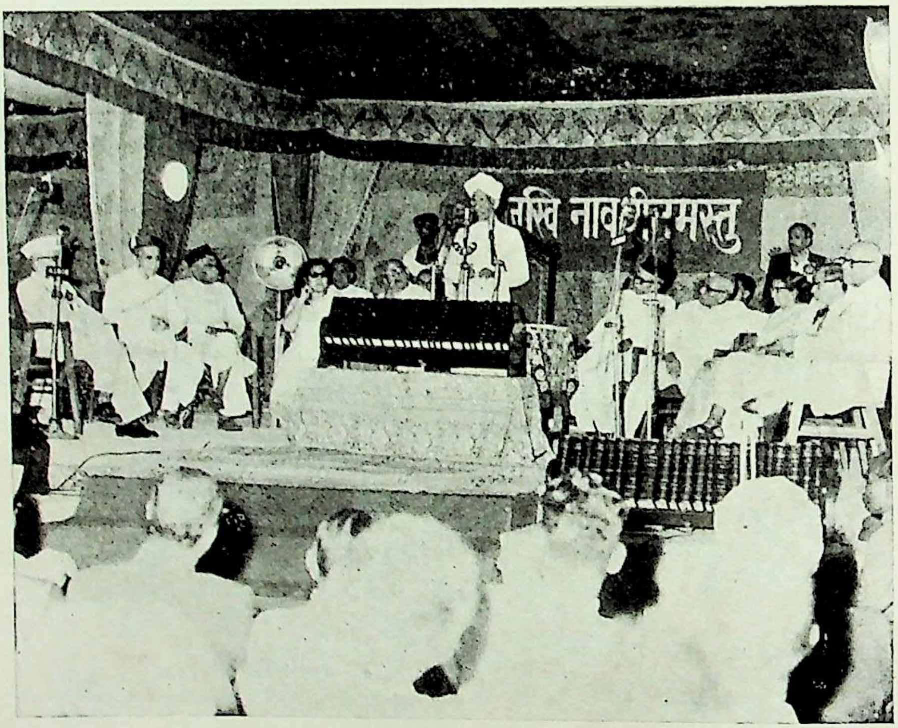
म. भा. १८. ५. ३८



Dr. P. L. Vaidya making a statement about the Critical Edition



Dr. R. N. Dandekar requesting Rashtrapati Radhakrishnan to announce the completion of the Critical Edition



Rashtrapati Radhakrishnan delivering his presidential speech

(3) H. D. VELANKAR, Editor of the *Sauptikaparvan.*

(4) R. N. DANDEKAR, Joint General Editor (1957-61) and Editor of the *Śalya-* and *Anuśāsana-parvans.*

Dr. S. K. DE, Editor of the *Udyoga-* and *Droṇaparvans*, and Dr. V. G. PARANJPE, Editor of the *Strīparvan*, were unable to attend the function.

Continuing Dr. GADGIL said :

" The Institute has also decided to present to the following five Śāstrīs and scholars a cheque of Rs. 1,001/- each in appreciation of their long and valuable services in the *Mahābhārata* Department.

(1) Pandit Ananta Narayan Sastri (39 years)

(2) G. G. Soman (32 years)

(3) N. M. Khuperkar (31 years)

(4) V. V. Jayade (20 years)

(5) Pandit V. D. Patwardhan (18 years).

" Lastly, the Institute would like to show its appreciation of the services of the workers of the Bhandarkar Institute Press and the peons of the Institute through token rewards. "

The President then made the respective presentations.

Thereafter, Dr. DANDEKAR made the following statement :

" On this auspicious occasion, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute remembers with profound gratitude the generous financial assistance which it has had the good fortune of receiving from its many patrons—big and small. Indeed, it was entirely on account of their kind patronage that the Institute was enabled to accomplish this enormous project. From among them, I should like specially to mention—even at the cost of thereby subjecting myself to being accused of making an invidious distinction—five principal patrons, but for whose continued substantial aid the Institute would have, long ago, been obliged to give up this project, namely, Government of India, Government of Maharashtra, University of Bombay, University of Poona, and International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, UNESCO. On this occasion, the Institute would like to present, at the hands of the President, to the representative of each of these patrons, a complete set of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* as a small token of its abiding gratitude. The sets to be presented to them are here ready, but, since they cannot be moved about with ease, the presentation will be made symbolically, that is, in the form of a photograph of the set. "

The President, accordingly, presented the sets to Shri V. P. NAIK, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Dr. P. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, Vice-Chancellor

of the University of Bombay, and Dr. D. R. GADGIL, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Poona, who were present on the occassion.

Concluding his statement, Dr. DANDEKAR said:

" Rashtrapatiji, I have now to request you kindly to accept this set of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, the completion of which you have just now announced, as an humble tribute of respectful gratitude from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. "

Dr. P. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, and Dr. A. N. UPADHYE, General President of the All-India Oriental Conference, conveyed to the Institute the felicitations of the world of scholars on its outstanding achievement.

Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN then delivered his presidential speech.

He began by saying:

" It is, indeed, an occasion of real happiness for me to have been able to share in the rejoicing over the fruition of the scholarly and selfless labours of nearly five decades. I am happy to associate myself with the consummation of the Critical Edition, the first verse of which was written by Ramakrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR himself as far back as 1919. It was the country's good fortune that an eminent person like Ramakrishna BHANDARKAR initiated the work and scholars like Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, Dr. P. L. VAIDYA, and Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR completed it. "

The President then expatiated, in his inimitable style, on the importance of the *Mahābhārata* and its message. He said:

" The unity of India is based not on geographical factors alone but also on its great literary heritage like the *Mahābhārata*. The *Mahābhārata* is a perceptive record of a mighty period in India's history. The great Indian Epic has been very popular and had also spread in countries of the Far East like Indo-China and Indonesia. The fundamental principle emerging from this record of a variety of characters and episodes is that the world is under a providential government. There is such a thing as law, and the world is not in the hands of blind consequence of events. The *Mahābhārata* taught that the wrong-doer would suffer and the right cause would ultimately triumph. The principal lesson of the *Mahābhārata* is that the supremacy of *dharma* and of the law conforming to it has to be recognized and respected for survival in the world. It would be best to remember that, whatever be the immediate results, those violating the law would ultimately come to grief while those following it would be rewarded. The *dharma* integrates society, while *adharma* disintegrates it. Glorious were those whe conformed to the moral law or the *dharma*.

"The lessons of the *Mahābhārata* have a special relevance and significance in the context of the present, not only for the people of India who appear to be lost in the pursuit of worldly enjoyments, material benefits and superficial happiness, but also for the whole of humanity which appears at present to have lost its moorings. It is well to remember that people perish when they abrogate *dharma* and forget the principles of charity, peacefulness and gentleness. The *Mahābhārata*, in an eloquent passage, describes the remarkable efficacy of this principle of gentleness, peacefulness and charity :

मृदुना सुमृदुं हन्ति
मृदुना हन्ति दारुणम् ।
नासाध्यं मृदुना किंचित्
तस्मात्तीक्ष्णतरं मृदु ॥*

I am sure, the great epic, with its characteristic message, will continue to give solace and comfort to the people."

Concluding his speech, Dr. RADHAKRISHNAN said :

"The Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* is a monument to Indian scholarship. I am inclined to feel that Maharṣi Vyāsa himself would have hesitated to embark on this stupendous project. As a matter of fact, Vyāsa relied on five disciples to carry on the work he initiated. All those who have cooperated in the completion of this great literary venture deserve our high appreciation. I am amazed to find that such a monumental work and a huge enterprise has involved an expenditure of only Rs. 16 lakhs or so. Such a work would, in any other country, have cost at least four times this amount The sacrifice of scholars who have laboured to produce the Edition is truly commendable. It is their sacrifice and scholarship which have placed at the disposal of the people the vast treasure-house of wisdom that the *Mahābhārata* is."

A suitable vote of thanks by Dr. GADGIL and the National Anthem brought this memorable function to an end.

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* Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, 12. 138. 65.

MESSAGES

[Extracts from some of the messages received on the occasion of the completion of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*.

1 Professor L. ALSDORF, University of Hamburg, Hamburg, Federal German Republic:

......The long row of big-size volumes now happily completed are the *monumentum aere perennius* (of Dr. Sukthankar)...also of all those collaborators and successors....To the scholars of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute not only every indologist owes a heavy debt of gratitude ; the whole of India will rejoice and feel proud to possess in this renewed and purified shape the greatest heirloom of its glorious past......

2 Professor A. L. BASHAM, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia :

......This great work of Indian scholarship is indeed a landmark in the history of Sanskrit textual criticism...The Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* has become an essential source-book for the student of ancient Indian history and culture and it seems hardly likely that it will ever be replaced. It will remain for centuries as a permanent memorial to the scholarship and patience of a devoted band of Sanskritists who have produced one of the world's most remarkable and important monuments of classical scholarship......

3 Professor C. G. BERG, University of Leiden, Holland :

......My admiration of the great work which your Institute did in the field of *Mahābhārata* research......As a student of Javanese literature and religion I am in daily contact with various parts of the *Mahābhārata*......Poona, in a way, is the centre of a great part of my spiritual world where the various threads of *Mahābhārata* research come together......

4 Professor BUDDHA PRAKASH, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra :

......This epoch-making venture is a momentous contribution of Indian scholarship and a lasting tribute to its high standard. Undoubtedly, it has raised the name of India high in the world of learning round the Globe......The availability of the reliable text of the great epic of India in a critical edition has facilitated the task of interpreting Indian culture in all its aspects in present times......

5 Professor T. BURROW, University of Oxford, Oxford :

......The critical edition of the epic is the greatest work of Sanskrit scholarship to be undertaken and completed in this century......

6 Professor Amiya CHAKRAVARTY, Boston University, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.:

......We are proud of the monumental scholarship and devotion involved in the production of the world-famous volumes. The completion of *parvans* including *Anuśāsanaparvan* just finished by you is an achievement which will be treasured by India and by all other countries with a noble historical and spiritual tradition......

7 Professor S. P. CHATURVEDI, Allahabad University, Allahabad:

......The Institute has done splendid and substantial work and enhanced the prestige of Indian scholarship......

8 M. Jean D'ORMESSON, Deputy Secretary-General, International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, UNESCO, Paris:

......You well know, I hope, the importance the CIPSH attaches to your enterprise and how well pleased the Council is, and shall be, to lend some help to your Institute for the completion of this outstanding work....The achievement of establishing an authentic text of the longest epic in the world, which constitutes an essential source of information concerning the cultural history of India, is peerless and stands out as a landmark in the field of cultural research...

9 Professor Ainslie T. EMBREE, Columbia University, New York:

......This is a work that has won the admiration of scholars throughout the world and one that will be of permanent scholarly value......

10 Professor J. FILLIOZAT, Director, Institut Francais d'Indologie, Pondicherry:

......Indology is greatly indebted to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and to the *paramparā* of its directors...

11 Professor J. GONDA, University of Utrecht, Holland:

......the completion of this very scholarly work is indeed a significant landmark in the history of Indological studies...All Sanskritists are under great obligation to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute...

12 Professor Olivier LACOMBE, University of Paris, Paris:

......thanks to the eminent scholarship of the first Editor General, a pattern had been raised for the work then to come, now completed in a way deserving the most sincere admiration and thankfulness of competent scholars all over the world...

13 Professor Georg MORGENSTIERNE, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway:

......offer my congratulations in deep admiration and gratitude to the Bhandarkar Institute and its scholars for the successful achievement of a task of the greatest magnitude and importance. The completion of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* is, indeed, a mile-stone in the progress of Sanskritic studies...

14 Professor Vittore PISANI, University of Milan, Milan, Italy:

......The Critical Edition has made it possible to approach the gigantic poem in its possibly most genuine form and to study the intricate history of its tradition: and the *Mahābhārata* is in my opinion the most magnificent and most attractive monument of Indian, nay one of the most magnificent of world literature, a treasury of memoirs which throws light on the oldest times not only of India but also of the Indo-European peoples. To have undertaken and almost brought to completion the tremendous task of editing it critically is a title to imperishable glory for the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute...

15 Swami RANGANATHANANDA, Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta:

......The successful completion of so stupendous a work of great cultural significance to all lovers of Indian thought and culture is an event worthy of a joyous celebration. It is an occasion for all of us to remember with gratitude the groups of editors, research scholars, and assistants who laboured with scientific efficiency and whole-hearted dedication to crown the Institute's ambitious programme with success...

16 Professor Juan Roger RIVIERE, University of Madrid, Madrid, Spain:

......Such Edition is now one of the best classics in all the libraries of the universities in Europe and America, and is an indispensable material for any scientific research on Indian classical literature...

17 Professor Helmut SCHEEL, Secretary-General, International Union of Orientalists, Mainz, Federal German Republic:

......Ich muss Sie deshalb bitten, meine besten Wünsche für die Veranstaltung entgegenzunehmen, die ja einen Beweis erbringen wird für die ausserordentlich grosse und mühsame Arbeit, die Sie bisher schon mit der Ausgabe des *Mahābhārata* gehabt haben... ...

18 Shri Vibhuti Narain SINGH, Maharaja of Banaras, Varanasi:

......The B. O. R. I. were the pioneers of preparing the critical editions of the Sanskrit texts and their work will be hailed with great appreciation by the scholars of Indology all over the world. We are also following the same principles in the All India Kashiraj Trust for preparing the critical editions of the 18 *Mahāpurāṇas*...

19 Professor D. C. SIRCAR, Director, Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, Calcutta :

......Indian scholars of all parts of the country are genuinely proud at the completion of the *Mahābhārata* scheme by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. It is indeed a glorious achievement......

20 Dr. U. P. SHAH, General Editor of the Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda :

......The principles evolved by Dr. Sukthankar have opened a new chapter in the preparation of Critical Texts of *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*......

21 Professor R. Morton SMITH, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada :

......It has been a monumental work, which has won the gratitude of all scholars, not only for the literary importance of the Epic, but because there is hardly a sphere of classical culture in which it is not necessary to consult the *Mahābhārata*, and your Institute has provided a sound text from which much more accurate work is now possible in many branches of Indian learning......

22 Professor N. TSUJI, Member of the Japan Academy, Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit, University of Tokyo, Tokyo, Japan :

......The *Mahābhārata* is the work which really deserves the name of a national epic in the strictest sense of the word. One cannot talk about Hinduistic India without a full knowledge of the Great Epic. All the Indologists of the world owe endless gratitude to the highly esteemed Institute as well as to the scholars who have contributed to the consummation of this monumental work edited with an unsurpassable erudition and critical acumen. I am especially pleased to know it is my dear friend Prof. R. N. Dandekar that has put the finishing touch to the great scientific enterprise worthy of the brilliant tradition of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute......

23 Professor Baldeva UPADHYAYA, Director, Research Institute, Varanasi Sanskrit University, Varanasi :

......A critical edition of such an important text has been a challenge to Sanskrit scholarship, whether oriental or occidental, for long. This challenge was accepted by Indian scholars and has been brought to a successful end. Today is the culmination of a series of mighty efforts made by eminent orientalists all over the world towards the quest of the original *Mahābhārata.* The day will be honoured in the annals of oriental scholarship as the day of supreme achievement, critical acumen, and mighty accomplishment of Sanskrit scholarship......

24 Professor A. N. UPADHYE, General President, All India Oriental Conference, Kolhapur:

......That the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* is completed with success is an event of international importance in the history of world-literature. In view of the numerous manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* written in different scripts, the Editors had to face problems which very few text-critics elsewhere could imagine. My respectful felicitations to all those who are associated with this national achievement......

25 Professor Alex WAYMAN, University of Wisconsin, Madison, U.S.A.:

......This will certainly be the standard edition from now on...I take this occasion of wishing you and your colleagues the recognition which you well deserve......

26 Professor O. H. de A. WIJESEKERA, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, Ceylon:

......We are all feeling obliged to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for the successful completion of its *magnum opus*, and wish the Institute many more years of fruitful activity......

स्थानं ताल्वादि । करणं केषांचित् स्पृष्टतादि । केषांचित् जिह्वाया अग्रोपाग्रमध्य-मूलानि । यद्येवं, किमर्थं प्रयत्नग्रहणम् । एतावदस्तु ' तुल्यास्यं सवर्णम् ' इति। एतावदेव आस्ये भवं स्थानं प्रयत्नश्चेति । प्रत्येकं व्यापारव्युदासार्थमुभयोरुपादानम्। यथैव स्थानं स्थानान्तरनिरपेक्षं स्यात् । एवं च सति स एव दोषो जबगडदशां तुल्यप्रयत्नानां स्थानभिन्नानां सवर्णसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । **एवमपि प्रयत्नोऽविशेषितो भवति** । आस्येनेत्यर्थः । तथा च बाह्यप्रयत्ना न हापिता भवन्ति । **प्रयत्नश्च विशेषितः। प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्नः** । एतद् भाष्यकारस्य दर्शनम् । स्पृष्टतादयः पूर्वम् । उत्तरकालं मूर्ध्नि प्रतिहतस्य वायोर्विवारादय इति । **प्राश्लिष्टावर्णावेतौ** । यथैव चोदकुम्भे क्षीरबिन्दुः संश्लिष्टो न ज्ञायत एवमेवावर्णम् । अन्ये वर्णयन्ति । प्रश्लिष्टावर्णावित्येतदुक्तं भवति संवृतावर्णाविति। **अवर्णस्य तर्हि एचोश्चेति** । अयमभिप्रायो विश्लिष्टावर्णावेताविति । तत्र नाव्यं नौभूतं रैयतीति लोप इत्वं च स्याताम् । **एतयोरेव तर्हि मिथः** । ऐकारौकारयोः । किं पुनः स्यात् । एत ऐ इत्यत्रौकारोऽपि प्राप्नोति । यदि तत्रापि भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं नेति **अभेदका उदात्तादय इति** प्रतिपादितं लिङ्गात् । न[1] शास्त्रे एते भेदेन व्याप्रियन्ते इति **यत् समानं तदाश्रयिष्यामः** । प्रथमद्वितीययोः तृतीयचतुर्थयोश्च यद्यपि प्रयत्नभेदः, तथापि यस्तेषां समानो यत्नस्तदाश्रिता सवर्णसंज्ञा प्रवर्तिष्यते ।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६१ प. १९-पृ. ६२ प. ५)

किं सति भेदे । अयमभिप्रायो यदि विवारादीनां भेदे स्पृष्टतादि साम्यं प्रवर्तते, एवं स्पृष्टतादिभेदे विवारादीनां[2] साम्यमपि प्राप्नोति । **यदि हि यत्र सर्वं समानमित्येता**वद् ब्रूयात् अकः अकि दीर्घ इति झरो झरीति । क्रियमाणेऽपि सवर्णग्रहणे सर्वं समानं न भवतीति नैव लोपः स्यात् शिण्ढि पिण्ढि इति । अतः **सति भेदे सवर्णसंज्ञया भवितव्यमिति । शकारछकारयोः षकारठकारयोः सकारथकारयोः** सर्वं समानमघोषत्वं महाप्राणत्वं[3] च । करणं तु भिन्नम् । एके[4]

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१ तथा स्वे एते भेदेन. २ विवारादीनां साम्येपि. ३ महाणत्वं वा. ४ एकं स्पृष्टं करणमपरो विवृतकरणं.

स्पृष्टकरणाः, अपरे विवृतकरणाः। सत्यां च सवर्णसंज्ञायां[1] निश्छद्म निष्ठुरं निस्स्थानमिति झरो झरि सवर्णे इति लोपः प्राप्नोति। एवं तर्हि **त्रिपदोऽयं बहुव्रीहिः। तुल्य आस्ये प्रयत्न एषामिति**। अभिधानाच्च असमानाधिकरणानामपि बहुव्रीहिरभ्युपगतः। ननु चैवमास्यं तुल्यत्वेनाविशेषितं[2] भवति विविभक्तित्वात् अप्रधानत्वाच्च। नैष दोषः। यदाधेयं प्रति यदधिकरणमुपादीयते तदाधेयतुल्यतयैव[3] तुल्यमिति विज्ञायते। यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तयोर्मधुरायां तुल्यं भोजनमित्युक्ते गम्यते एतन्मधुराऽपि तयोस्तुल्येति। एवमिहापि ययोर्वर्णयो-[4]रास्ये तुल्यः प्रयत्नो भवति आस्यमपि[5] तयोस्तुल्यमिति। आस्यशब्दस्य तद्धिताश्रयणसामर्थ्याद्वा। (महाभाष्य पृ. ६२ प. ५–प. १२)

अथवा पूर्वस्तत्पुरुषः, ततो बहुव्रीहिः। केन लक्षणेन तत्पुरुषः। यदि निपातनात् समासः स्यात्, न[6] तुल्यस्तत्पुरुषः। तस्मात् सप्तमी इति योगविभागात् तत्पुरुषो, निपातनात् अपूर्वनिपातः। अथवा अर्थप्रदर्शनमेतत् **तुल्यमास्य इति**। साहचर्यात् आस्ये भवः प्रतिलब्धाँस्यव्यपदेशः[7]। प्रथमान्त एव समस्यते तुल्यं आस्य इति। कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्येति।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६२ प. १२–प. १४)

तस्य। तस्येति (तु) वक्तव्यम्। अर्थप्रदर्शनमेतत् न तु पाठः। पाठस्तु तथाभूतः कर्तव्यो यथाऽयमर्थो लभ्यते इति। तत्रापि स्पष्टमेव वक्तव्यं यत्तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं यद्यस्य तत्तस्य सवर्णमिति। अथैवतद्वक्तव्यं तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं तत् तस्य सवर्णमिति। सामर्थ्याद् गम्यते यस्य[8] यदिति। इतरथा हि तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नत्वात् सवर्णमित्यस्मिन् नामधेये लब्धे प्रदेशेषु 'अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः' इति इदं नास्ति, यो यस्य[9] तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नस्तस्य तस्मिन्निति सवर्णमात्रे दीर्घः प्रवर्तते। सूत्रारम्भः किमर्थः इति चेत् रेफोष्मणां निवृत्त्यर्थः। रेफोष्मणां[10] सवर्णा न सन्ति इति नास्त्येषां तुल्यप्रयत्नता। तत्र रेफे ऊष्मसु च सवर्णसंज्ञाकार्यं मा भूदिति।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६२ प. १५–प. १६)

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१ संज्ञायां नि...ष्टुरं. २ तुल्यत्येनापि विशेषितं ३ तुल्यतथैव. ४ यथार्वर्णयोरास्ये. ५ आस्यमिति तयो. ६ न तुल्यतत्पुरुषः। ७ प्रतिलस्यास्यव्यपदेश. ८ यस्येतिति. ९ योषस्य तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नस्य. १० रेफो ऊष्मसुव..

तस्यावचनमिति। असमासोऽयम्। यः शब्दो भवतोच्चारितस्तस्यावचनमिति। अथवाऽनुकरणशब्दस्तस्येत्येतस्यावचनमिति। कुतः। **वचनप्रामाण्यात्।** ननु चोक्तं रेफोष्मणां निवृत्त्यर्थमिति। तच्चासत्। तेऽपि हि परस्परेण तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नाः, रेफो रेफान्तरेण ऊष्मा चोष्मान्तरेण। अथवा यद्येतावत् प्रयोजनं स्यात् सवर्णप्रदेशेष्वेव रेफोष्मणां निवृत्तिं कुर्यात्।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६२ प. १७–प. २०)

सम्बन्धिशब्दैर्वा तुल्यम्। मातरि वर्तितव्यं पितरि शुश्रूषितव्यमिति। मातृशब्दः पितृशब्दश्च लोके न वन्ध्यानिवृत्त्यर्थं नपुंसकनिवृत्त्यर्थं वा प्रयुज्यते। किं तर्हि। अयमेवास्य स्वभावो [1]यदपेक्षितस्वप्रजनन एव प्रवर्तते। **या यस्य माता यो यस्य पितेति**। एवं तुल्यशब्दो लोके एवंभूत एव। तुल्याय कन्या दातव्येति न चण्डालेन तुल्याय ब्राह्मणः कन्यां ददाति। किं तर्हि। [2]आत्मना। तस्मात् सवर्णे दीर्घो भवतीति तुल्यास्यप्रयत्ने [3]अकि अको दीर्घो भवतीति। एतदुक्तं भवति। एवं च सति [4]तुल्यशब्दस्यैवंस्वभावत्वात् अन्तरेण तस्येतिवचनमयमेवार्थो लभ्यत इति।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६२ प. २१–प. २६)

ऋकारलृकारयोः सवर्णविधिः। सवर्णाश्रयस्य कार्यस्य विधिः। अथवा **संज्ञा विधेया**। तत्र संज्ञाविधिर्लघीयानिति तस्मात् [5]संज्ञा विधेयेत्याह। अथात्र कथमसम्बन्धिशब्दत्वे एतयोः सवर्णसंज्ञेत्येतद् गम्यते। न पुनरेतयोरन्यैः सहेति। तत्र मिथः इति वा वक्तव्यम्। अथवा नायं पाठः कर्तव्य ऋकारलृकारयोः सवर्णविधिरिति। किं तर्हि। (अर्थ) प्रदर्शनमिति। स तु पाठः कर्तव्यो यथैव तयोरेव मिथः सवर्णसंज्ञा भवति। **[6]होतृ–लृकारः होतॄकार इति सवर्णदीर्घत्वं यथा स्यात्**। [7]होतुः लृकारः शोभन इति सम्बन्धषष्ठी। ततश्च समासोऽयमिति। **नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनमिति। वक्ष्यत्येतत् 'सवर्णदीर्घत्व' इति**। एवं मन्यते। दीर्घ इति तत्र वर्तते। न ऋ इति लृ इति च विभाषिते लृशब्दे दीर्घत्वं भविष्यति।

१ यदापक्षतस्य प्रजनन एव. २ आत्मनात् सवर्णदीर्घो. ३ अचि. ४ तुल्यशब्दस्यैकस्वभावत्वात्. ५ संज्ञाभिधेयेत्यात आह. ६ होतृ ऋकारः. ७ होतुः ऋकारः.

ऌति ऌवर्णस्य दीर्घा न सन्ति । उभयानुग्राही च दीर्घो नास्तीति ॠकार एव संभविष्यति इति । **तत् सवर्णे यथा स्यात् ।** यदि सवर्णसंज्ञामविधायैतदुच्यते[1] 'अकः ऋ' इति भवतीति अङ्मात्रस्य स्यात् । दध्य्ऌकारः मध्व्ऌकारः इति । तस्मात् विधातव्या सवर्णसंज्ञा । **यदेतत् ऋतीति एतत् ऋत इति वक्ष्यामि ।** ऋतः सवर्णे ऋ वा भवति इति ऋत्येव भवितव्यं, ततः ऌति इति । इदमसवर्णार्थमारभ्यते । तेन ऋकार त्रीणि रूपाणि । एकमसंहिताविषये द्वे संहिताविषये । एवं ऌकारेऽपि । **तन्न वक्तव्यं भवति ।** एवं मन्यते । द्वावप्येतौ दीर्घौ ॠकार ॡकारश्च तौ भविष्यतः । ऋकार च सवर्णे ऋकार च सवर्णसंज्ञायां सत्यां ॠकारश्च ॡकारश्चेति । **अवश्यं तद्वक्तव्यम् । ऊकालोऽज्ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः । नायमच्** इति । कथमनच्कत्वम् । केचिन्मन्यन्ते । द्वौ रेफौ[2] अर्धावच्च अङ्मात्र इति । ते ईषत्स्पृष्टकरणत्वात् प्रयत्नभेदं मन्यन्ते । अपरे वर्णयन्ति । द्वौ रेफौ तुरीयाविकौ[3] अङ्मात्रः । केचिन्मन्यन्ते । सकलश्च रेफः ऋकारश्च अज्भक्तिश्चार्धमात्रेति । किं तु संवृततरोऽयम् । ऋकारश्च विवृतः । प्रयत्नभेदात् नास्त्यस्य ऋकारेग[4] ग्रहणमिति । **एवं तर्हि अच्त्वं वक्ष्यामि ।** सति अच्त्वे दीर्घसंज्ञा लप्स्यते[5] । यस्य तु पक्षोऽर्धतृतीयमात्रोऽयमिति तस्याच्त्वे सति दीर्घसंज्ञाया अभावः भिन्नकालत्वात् । तस्मात् द्विमात्र एवायमभ्युपगन्तव्यः । **तच्चावश्यं वक्तव्यम्** । त्वयाऽपि ऋत्वावचनं ब्रुवता । कथम् । वचनादिदं तावत् स्यात् । अस्य तु प्लुतोऽशक्यः कर्तुम् । अनयोर्हि प्लुत उच्यते । यश्चासौ क्रियतेऽसावप्यनच्त्वात् प्लुतो न भवतीति न स्थानी नाप्यादेशः इति स्थितमेतत् । यश्च सवर्णसंज्ञामारभते यश्च सवर्णदीर्घत्वे ऌत्वावचनं करोति उभाभ्यामच्त्वं वक्तव्यमिति । **किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः ।** किं सवर्णसंज्ञाविधानम्, उत ऌत्वावचनमिति । अत्र चोद्यते । यदि लक्षणयोर्लक्ष्ये समानो व्यापारस्तत एतदुपपद्यते किं पुनरत्र ज्याय इति । अयं तु भिन्न एव व्यापारः । कथम् । यदि सवर्णसंज्ञा विधीयते तत उच्यते ऌति ऌत्वावचनमिति । होतृ-ऌकार इति स्थितं द्वयोर्दीर्घयोरुप-

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१ सवर्णसंज्ञाविधायतदुच्यते. २ द्वौ रेधावध्येव चाङ्मात्र इति. ३ तुरीयावध्यंव वाङ्मात्र. ४ ऋकारे ग्रहणमिति. ५ लशप्यते.

स्थितयोर्यदि तावत् द्वावपि ऋकारौ स्थानिनौ द्वाभ्यां रेफाभ्यां तद्वन्ताविति । [1]द्वयो रेफयोर्विनाशेन भवितव्यमिति सर्वकालं द्विरेफको दीर्घः प्राप्नोति । अथायं पक्षः संवृततरमपि । एवमपि विवृतयोः ऋकारयोः स्थाने कथं संवृततरो भविष्यति । तेन सर्वकालं विवृतेन भवितव्यम् । तथा लृकारे परभूते रलवान् नास्ति दीर्घ [2]इति पर्यायेण कदाचित् दीर्घः स्यात् । कदाचित् लॄ इति दीर्घः । अथ मन्यसे रूपत्रयं साध्यं तथैव सिध्यति इति । तच्च न । भिन्नविषयौ ऋकारलृकारौ परिगृह्य त्रैशब्द्यं सिध्येत न त्वन्यत् । तस्मात् यस्तु लृ विधत्ते तस्य कथम् । असौ [3]लृ वा विधत्ते, पक्षे दीर्घत्वं वि[4]दधात्येव लॄ इत्यपि । ननु च तस्यापि सवर्णसंज्ञां विदधतः लृतीति लृकारः संनिहितः । ऋतीति ऋकारः । तत्रैकैकस्मिंस्त्रैरूप्यं प्राप्नोति । स्यादेतत्—प्रविभागोपादानमनर्थकम् । [5]ऋति लृति चेति अन्यतरस्मिन् प्रविभागोपादानं मा भूदिति अन्यतरस्मिंस्तत् प्राप्नोत्येव ।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६२ प. २७–पृ. ६३ प. १२)

लृकारस्य लपरत्वं वक्ष्यामि । व्याख्यास्यामीत्यर्थः । कथं प्रत्याहारः । रट् लणिति लृकारे योऽकारः असौ अनुनासिकः प्रतिज्ञास्यते । अतः स्वे[6]नान्येन इतरः इत् इति रेफ आदिः तन्मध्यस्य संज्ञा भविष्यति इति । उरण् रपरः इति रेफस्तन्मध्यं लकारं प्रत्याययति । एवमपि उभयोः रलौ कस्मात् न भवतः । आन्तरतम्यात् । यथा जश्भाविनां [7]जशः चर्भाविनां चर एवं रेफवतो रेफवानादेशः । लकारवतो लकारवान् इति । [8]यथैव क्लृप्यमानं (पश्य) इति णत्वं भवति (=प्राप्नोति) एवं प्रक्लृप्यमानं पश्येति 'कृत्यचः' इति णत्वं प्राप्नोति ।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६३ प. १३–प. १८)

त्रिभिश्च मध्यमैरिति । कोऽत्र विशेषः । पूर्वत्र शर्व्यवाय इति सामर्थ्यात् षकारोऽनुमीयते तस्य णत्वनिमित्तत्वात् । इह लशसैश्चेति व्यवधानकरावेव

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१ द्वयो रेफैर्द्विणाशेन. २ इति यथा येषा कदा. ३ लृ वा विधत् ४ विदधाति एवं ऋ इत्यपि. ५ ऋतिलृति चेद्वन्यतरास्मिन्. ६ स्वेनान्येनेतरद्विति रेफ आदिस्तन्मध्यस्यासंज्ञा. ७ जस : धर्माविनां चरयवरेफवतो. ८ यथैव लप्पणमिति.

शसावुपादीयेते । ननु ऌकारव्यवाय इत्युच्यमाने न प्राप्नोति । [1]प्रक्ऌप्यमानमिति ऌकाराण्णो न भवति । तत आह—**वर्णैकदेशाश्च वर्णग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते इति ।** समुदायव्यापारेऽवयवोऽपि व्याप्रियेत । न तस्य व्यापार उच्छिद्यते इति । **यद्येवं नार्थो (रषाभ्यां) णत्वे ऋकारग्रहणेन ।** रेफादेव णत्वं भविष्यति । एवं च सति नास्ति ऋकारग्रहणमिति । अगृह्यमाणं कथं ऌकारं ग्रहीष्यति इति स्थिता सवर्णसंज्ञा । एवं च सति अक्षरसमाम्नायेऽनर्थक ऌकारोपदेश इति । ऋदिति तर्हि यदुच्येत तत् ऌदिति अत्रापि [2]प्राप्नोति । अनर्थकं तु ऌदित्त्वं स्यात् । तस्मात् ऌकारः प्रत्याहारे पठितव्यः । पठ्यमाने तस्मिन् पृथगनुबन्धकरणसामर्थ्यात् भवति परिहारः ॥ (महाभाष्य पृ. ६३ प. २०–प. २३)

॥ नाज्झलौ ॥ १-१-१० ॥

किं न भविष्यति । इकारशकारयोः अवर्णहकारयोश्च स्थानकरणे तुल्ये इति प्रतिषेध आरभ्यते सवर्णसंज्ञायाः । अज्झलौ मिथः सवर्णसंज्ञौ भवत इति एवमवस्थिते इदमुच्यते । **अज्झलोः (प्रतिषेधे शकार–) प्रतिषेधो अज्झल्त्वात् ।** अज्झलौ [3]अच्त्वात् शक्यौ प्रतिषेद्धुमिति प्राकरणिको धर्मः प्रतिषेध्यत्वेन विज्ञायते । कश्चासौ धर्मः । सवर्णसंज्ञा । अथवा प्रतिषेधेन निवृत्तिः व्यपदिश्यते । अज्झलोः सवर्णसंज्ञातो निवृत्तौ शकारप्रतिषेध इत्येतदध्यवसीयते । **शकारस्य...प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति ।** तदर्थो यत्नः कर्तव्य इति । अथवा योऽयमच् [4]ऊकालः प्रतिषेधः अत्र शकारं प्रति । यद्यप्येकवचनान्तस्य समासस्तथापि सामर्थ्यात् सविशेषः प्रतीयते । भेदाधिष्ठानत्वात् सवर्णसंज्ञायाः । **अच्चैव हि शकारो हल् च ।** पाठात् निर्ज्ञातमेवास्य हल्त्वम् । अच्त्वमेवास्य दुरुपपादमिति अच्त्वमेव पृच्छति । **कथं तावदच्त्वमिति ।** इतरोऽच्त्वमुपपादयति । **इकारः सवर्णग्रहणेन शकारमपि गृह्णाति ।** सवर्णं गृहीत्वा [5]सवर्णग्रहणेन यथाशास्त्रेण । तत्र यथैव इकारोऽच्कार्याणि प्रतिपद्यते, एवं शकारोऽपीति । एवं तावदच्त्वम् । कथं पुनः इकारः

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१ प्रकॢप्यमाणमिति. २ प्राप्नोति न भविष्यति अङर्थं तु. ३ अच्त्वात् च्यातव्यो प्रतिषेद्धुमिति. । ४ ऊकालेाप्रतिषेधः ५ सवर्णगृहीत्य सवर्णग्रहणेन यथा खणा तत्र.

शकारं गृह्णाति यावता 'नाज्झलौ' इत्ययमस्ति प्रतिषेधः। उच्यते। अस्मिन् प्रतिषेधसूत्रे योऽयमजिति स किं गृहीतसवर्णकानाम्, अथ न इति विचारयामः। तत्रेदं युक्तं गृहीतसवर्णकानामिति। यथा 'अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः' इत्यस्मिन् ग्रहणे। इह तु नास्ति ग्रहणम् 'अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः' इति। किं कारणम्। अस्मिन् ग्रहणे अपरिनिष्पन्नत्वात् संज्ञासंज्ञिसम्बन्धस्य, ग्रहणात्[1] ग्रहणं ग्रहणाभावे ग्रहणकशास्त्रस्यानभिनिर्वृत्तत्वात् ग्रहणान्तरस्य चाभावात् स्वात्मनि च क्रियाविरोधात्। ग्रहणान्तरं च नास्ति, स्वात्मनि च क्रिया विरुध्यते, यथा घटो नात्मानं शक्नोति स्प्रष्टुम्। एवं[2] च सति आह— 'हलन्त्यम्' इत्यत्र लकारस्यानुबन्धत्वाज्ज्ञापितत्वात् हल्ग्रहणाप्रसिद्धिरिति। अस्मिन् हि हल् इति व्यपदेशे स्वात्मनि क्रिया विरुध्यत इति न शक्नोति लकारस्य[3] इत्संज्ञां प्रतिपादयितुम्। तस्मात् पृथक् लकारस्य इत्संज्ञा वक्तव्येति। तत्र चोक्तं 'सिद्धं तु लकारनिर्देशात्' 'एकशेषनिर्देशाद्वा' इति। यथैव च अण्ग्रहणे ग्रहणं नास्ति एवं प्रतिषेध्याग्रहणे[4] प्रतिषेधाभावः। प्रतिषेधशास्त्रस्यानभिनिर्वृत्तत्वात् प्रतिषेधशास्त्रस्यावकाशाभावात्[5] स्वात्मनि च क्रियाविरोधात्। नाज्झलाविति प्रतिषेधोऽनभिनिर्वर्त्य[6] एव। अस्मिन्नजिति प्रत्याहारे शास्त्रान्तरं नास्ति प्रतिषेधकम्। स्वात्मनि च क्रिया विरुध्यते घटस्पर्शवत्। तत्र यथैव 'मा शब्दं कार्षी' रिति नास्त्येव शब्दस्य प्रतिषेधः शक्यं कर्तुं, किं तर्हि, शब्दान्तराणाम्। एवमिह प्रतिषेधसूत्रे अशक्यः प्रतिषेधः कर्तुमिति। यथैव च इकारशकारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा प्रतिषिध्यते, एवं शकारयोरपीति। यथैव कुमारी शेते इति नास्ति सवर्णसंज्ञा ईकारस्य शकारे परत इति। ननु च 'प्रकल्प्य वाऽपवादमुत्सर्गः प्रवर्तते' इति सवर्णसंज्ञा प्रतिषेधविषयमुत्सृज्याभिनिविष्टा इति कुतो ग्रहणम्। सत्यमेवमेतत्। यद्यत्रापवादः स्यात्। स च नास्तीत्युक्तं, अनिष्पन्नत्वात् प्रतिषेधस्येति चेदत्रापवादविषयोऽस्तीति प्रवर्तितव्यं सवर्णसंज्ञया तत्पूर्वकेण च तद्ग्रहणेन। न इह प्रत्याहारे शकारस्याच्त्वेन ग्रहणादन्यत्र नास्ति सवर्णत्वेन ग्रहणमिति इदमाह। (महाभाष्य पृ. ६३ प. २४-पृ. ६४ प. २)

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१ ग्रहाणात् ग्रहणे ग्रहणाभाव संबन्धस्य अभावः। ग्रहणांतरे च.। २ एवं च सत्वाइल्प्रत्ययमित्यत्रात्तवकारस्य. ३ शकारस्य संज्ञा प्रति. ४ प्रतिषेध्यग्रहणे. ५ शास्त्रस्यावराभावात्. ६ प्रतिषेधोनाभिनिवृत्तर्त्य एव तत्पूर्वके च तग्दहणेनात्र न इह.

तत्र सवर्णलोपे दोषमाह इति विषयवन्तं दोषमाचष्टे–सवर्णलोपविषये सवर्णलोपाप्राप्तिर्दोषः । **परःशतानि कार्याणीति** । शतादतिक्रान्तानि शताद्-धिकानि कर्तव्यानीति पञ्चमीति योगविभागात् समासः साधनं कृतेति[१] वा । राज-दन्तादित्वात् परनिपातः । परशब्देन समासोऽथवा परःशब्दः पारस्करादित्वाद्वा सुट् द्रष्टव्यः । तत्र सकारस्य श्चुत्वे कृते द्विर्वचने सावर्ण्यस्य प्रतिषिद्धत्वात् त्रिशकारः स्यादिति दोषः । अत्र चोदयन्ति । **शकारश्चेदजिति** शकारश्चेदज् इति इकारेण गृहीतः स यथैवाच्कार्यं प्रतिषेधे लभते, एवमिदमपि कस्मात्[२] (न)प्रतिपद्यते 'शरोऽचि' न द्वे भवत इति । 'अनाचि च' द्वे भवत इति । न[३] चात्र तेन द्विर्वचनमपि न भविष्यति । त एवं परिहारमाहुः । अनाचि चेति पर्युदासोऽचोऽन्यस्मिन्निति । भवति चायमचोऽन्य इति यत् तदसत् । न ह्येतत् संज्ञासु प्रतिपादयितुं शक्यम् । ईह[४] शकारो हल् च अच् च । तद्यद्येवमुच्येत अचोऽन्यस्मिन् भवितव्यमिति शकारो वर्ज्येत न वर्ज्येत इति निःसंशयं न वर्ज्येत एकार्थचोदनायामपि[५] यस्मिन्नर्थे प्रति-षिध्यते । अप्रासादवासिन आनीयन्तामिति किमुभयवासिनो भूमिवासित्वात् भवि-तव्यमानयनेन आहोस्वित् प्रासादवासिनोऽन्य इति व्यपदेष्टव्य इति न भवितव्यमान-यनेनेति । एवं शबलः छागः । किं कृष्णमालभेत शुक्लमालभेत इति आलब्धव्यो नालब्धव्यः । नालब्धव्य इति नालब्धव्यः । एवं तु त्रिशकारत्वमिह न्यायप्राप्तमेव । कथम् । उक्तं हि प्रतिषेधसूत्रे प्रतिषेधो[६] नास्ति अनभिनिर्वृत्तत्वात् प्रतिषेधस्यास्य । अन्यत्र तु प्रत्याहारेऽस्त्येव प्रतिषेध इति कुतोऽस्य द्विर्वचनविधावच्त्वम् । तस्मादस्य स यत्नः कर्तव्यो येन इकार इह प्रत्याहारे शकारं न गृह्णाति । ग्रहणे हि सति व्यक्तमन्यत्र ग्रहणमस्ति शकारस्य । एतच्च प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधोऽयमिति कृत्वोपन्यस्तम् । एवं च कृत्वा वाक्यं पठितम् । अज्झलोः प्रतिषेधे इति । प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधं प्रतिषेध इति आह । यदि हि पर्युदासः स्यात् तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णं नाज्झलाविति

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१ कृतेति वा रातद्दतित्वात्सतर. २ कस्मात प्रतिपद्यते. । ३ न चायतेन द्वीर्व-चनमपि. ४ इह हकारो हल्वाचात् च. ५ चोदनायामपि यामपि यास्मिन्नथेपतियव्यते. ६ प्रतिषेधो न यमिति.

नैव किञ्चित् लक्षणं विधायकमज्झलोरस्ति, नापि प्रतिषेधकमिति अज्झलौ मिथो मुक्त्वा अच्त्वात् हल्वाच्च मिथः सवर्णसंज्ञेति दोषाभावः ।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६४ प. ३—प. ५)

सिद्धमनच्त्वात् । आस्यान्तर्वर्तिनः प्रयत्नस्य भेदात् सावर्ण्यं नास्ति । असति तस्मिन् किं प्रतिषेधेनेति । तत्र प्रत्याख्यानेन[1] परिहार उक्तः । यथा तु पाणिनीयैः पठितम्[2]—उभयत्र वा **ईषदिति** अनुवर्तते । उभयत्र वा **निवृत्तमिति** तथा परिहारमाह ॥ (महाभाष्य पृ. ६४ प. ६—प. ९)

वाक्यापरिसमाप्तेर्वा । नास्ति ग्रहणमिति । इदं वाक्यं अपरिसमाप्तार्थत्वात् अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चेत्यपरिसमाप्तमित्युच्यते । कथं पुनरस्यापरिसमाप्तत्वम् । अङ्गयोरनिर्ज्ञानात्[3] । वाक्यस्य इमे अङ्गे अणिति च सवर्णस्येति च । ते यदा निर्ज्ञाते भवतः अयमण् अयं सवर्ण इति तदा ग्रहणम् । तत्र उपदेशः, इत्संज्ञा, प्रत्याहारः इत्येषु अस्य ग्रहणं प्रति नास्ति व्यापारः । यत्रैव[4] तावत् अणिति रूपमुच्चारितं यथाऽणुदित्सवर्णस्येति तत्रैव तावत् ग्रहणम् । किमङ्ग पुनर्यत्र[5] एतदुपायानि रूपाणि इति । उपदेशकालेऽसवर्णा ह्येते । **प्रत्याहारोत्तरकालं च सवर्णसंज्ञेति** । नात्र पाठक्रमोऽभिप्रेतः । किं तर्हि । प्रवृत्तिक्रमः । अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चेत्यस्मिन् यः क्रमोऽणिति च सवर्णस्य इति च तत्र यथैवोपदेशादिष्वनिवृत्तं रूपमिति नास्ति ग्रहणमेवं सवर्णेऽप्यनिर्ज्ञाते न ग्रहणेन प्रवर्तितव्यम् । यदा सोत्सर्गा सापवादा सवर्णसंज्ञा निर्ज्ञाता भवति तदा[6] भावि चान्यत्रापि अच्त्वव्यपदेशेषु सवर्णत्वेन ग्राहकं भविष्यति इति नैवात्र ग्रहणं न प्रतिषेधः । अत्र च नेकारो गृहीतो नापि शकार इति ईकारशकारयोः प्रतिषिद्धा सवर्णसंज्ञा । ईकारशकारयोस्तुल्यत्वात् सावर्ण्यमिति कुमारी शेते इति सावर्ण्यकार्यमेकादेशः प्राप्नोति । अजधिकारान्निवर्त्यते । यद्येवं **तर्हि शकारं न गृह्णाति एवमीकार-**

१ सत्र प्रत्याख्यातेन. २ पाणिनीया पठित. ३ अंगयोरतिर्ज्ञानाद्ग्राह्यस्य ।
४ यत्रैयता च वस्कुणिति. ५ यत्रैतदुयायानि. ६ तवायाव्यन्यान्पल्लव्यपदेषु.

मपि न गृह्णीयात् । एवं मन्यते । यत्र यत्र सवर्णसंशब्दनं तत्र तत्र चक्रकं वर्तते इति । वर्णानामुपदेशादिष्वेव नास्ति ग्रहणम् । ते एतदर्था उपादीयन्ते यथा कपालावस्थायां घट एव नास्ति कुतस्तस्य कार्यविरोधः । ये तु प्रदेशाः अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः इति न ते एतदर्था इदमेव तदर्थमिति किमिति ग्रहणं न भविष्यति (इति) । अतोऽनेनोपायेनैतत् कथयति । इह विषये ग्रहणम्, इहाग्रहणमिति । **अपर आह । सर्वमेतत् समानम्** । एतावांस्तु विशेषः ।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६४ प. १४-प. २४)

सिद्धमनच्त्वम् । हेतुरनच्त्वस्य वाक्यापरिसमाप्तिः । अत्र तु साध्यस्य भिन्नत्वात् हेतुविकल्पो[1] न युज्यते इत्याह । **अस्मिन् पक्षे वेत्येतदसमर्थितं भवति । एतच्च समर्थितम्** । वाक्यशेष उपादास्यते प्रतिज्ञाविकल्पार्थमित्यभिप्रायः । वाक्यापरिसमाप्तेरनच्त्वात् सिद्धम् । यदि चाग्रहणमीकारेण शकारस्येति । **ननु च भेदो भवति** । अभ्युपगम्य श्रुतिकृतं भेदमिदमुच्यते । **विभाषा द्विर्वचनम्** । 'यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा इति वर्तते । **स एष कथं भेदो न स्यात्** । अस्त्येव भेद इत्यर्थः । इतर आह । **यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात्** । स्याद् भेदः । **किं तु विभाषा लोपः** । झयो होऽन्यतरस्यामिति वर्तते । एवं चेत् यथाऽभेदः अनयोस्तथा शास्त्रमवस्थितम् । अपरेषां व्याख्यानम् । **स एष कथं भेदो न** इति एतावति स्थिते पक्षे इतर आह । **स्याद् यदि नित्यो लोपः, स्यादेव भेद इति** । यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात्, स्यादेव भेद इति ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६४ प. २४-पृ. ६५ प. ६)

॥ इति भर्तृहरिटीकायां चतुर्थमाह्निकम् ॥

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१ हेतुर्विकल्पेन युज्यते भेदमिदम्युच्यते. ।

अथ पञ्चममाह्निकम्

॥ ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम् ॥ १. १. ११ ॥

ईदादिषु यद्यपि विशेषवत्यो व्यक्तयः श्रूयन्ते, स्वरूपविधौ चोच्चार्यमाण एव शब्दोऽप्रत्यायकः आश्रितद्विशक्तित्वात् प्रत्याय्यत्वेन गृह्यते, [1]अभिन्नश्रुतितया शब्दान्तरमनुकरणेनानुकर्तुं शक्यं तथापि नान्तरीयकत्वात् उपात्तान् सतो विशेषान् परित्यज्य सामान्यमाश्रीयते । विशेषपरैव वा प्रवृत्तिः स्यात् । उभयं संभवति । तत्रेदं तपरकरणमाकृतिविवक्षायां वा भेदपरित्यागे सामान्याश्रयणात् अतिप्रसङ्गो भिन्नकालेभ्यो व्यक्त्यन्तरेभ्य आकृतेरवच्छेदकः स्यात् । व्यक्तिविवक्षायां वा भिन्नकालवादितरेष्वाश्रितेषु विशेषेषु गुणान्तरयुक्तेषु व्यक्त्यन्तरेषु प्राप्त्यर्थं द्विवचनमपि चेदमुपपद्यते । आकृतौ तावत् यत्नाधिक्यादेव ह्रस्वानां सिद्धा निवृत्तिः । प्लुतानां चेष्यते । एवं ह्यनिष्टार्थं तपरकरणमापद्यते । व्यक्तावपि ईदादीनां स्वशब्देनोपात्तवचनादुच्चारणेनाश्रितानामप्यभेदकत्वं साधितमुदात्तादीनामित्यत आह—**किमर्थमीदादीनां तपराणां [2]प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा उच्यते** । [3]व्यक्तिविवक्षामाश्रित्य भेदका एवोदात्तादय इत्याह । **'तपरस्तत्कालस्ये'ति तत्कालानां ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्** । कथं पुनर्भेदकत्वमुदात्तादीनां यावताऽनन्तादीनामुदात्तवचनमभेदकत्वे ज्ञापकमुक्तं चूर्णिकारेण । तदुक्तं वार्तिककारेण । **[4]आकारादीनां तपरकरणं सवर्णार्थम्, भेदकत्वात् स्वरस्येति । [5]अण् सवर्णस्येति स्वरानुनासिक्यकालभेदादिति** उक्तवतो भेदकत्वमेवाभिप्रेतम् । सूत्रकारस्य च सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणात् स्वस्वरासङ्गाच्च भेदकत्वमप्यस्तीत्यनुमीयते । अनन्तादीनां तूदात्तानामाकृतिविवक्षायां स्यादिति अलिङ्गत्वमपि शक्यं गमयितुम् । **केषाम् ...अस्ति प्रयोजनम्** । न हि क्रियमाणे तपरत्वे [6]कालान्तरप्रयुक्तानां चिरप्रति-

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१ अभिन्नश्रुतिया. २ प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा. इष्यते. ३ व्यक्तिविवक्षायामाश्रित्य. ४ इकारादीनां. ५ अ सवर्णस्येति. ६ कालांतरयुक्तयणांततरप्रतिपत्तिरस्ति.

पत्तिरस्ति । तत्कालस्येति वचनादिति । **उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानाम्** । अनुनासिकग्रहणमप्यन्येषां विद्यते । न त्वीदादयोऽनुनासिकाः संभवन्ति । प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाविषयस्यानुनासिक्यस्य प्रतिषेधवचनादिति प्रसङ्गोच्चारितमेतत् । **प्लुतानां तु प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति** । नायं तपरकरणाद्दोषः । कुतस्तर्हि । व्यक्तिपदार्थाभ्युपगमात् । **असिद्धः प्लुतः तस्यासिद्धत्वात् तत्काला एव भवन्ति** । ननु च प्लुतस्यासिद्धत्वात् त्रिमात्रता न स्यात् । तत्कालता तु पूर्वमेव निवर्तितत्वात् असती कथं पुनर्भवति । नैष दोषः । शास्त्रासिद्धत्वविज्ञानात् । अनिवृत्तौ च तत्कालता विज्ञायते । शास्त्रनिमित्ता शब्देषु प्रवृत्तिः निवृत्तिबुद्धिप्रतिपादकस्य शास्त्रस्याभावे प्राकृतेनैव प्रतिपाद्यरूपेणावतिष्ठते । प्राक् आदेशवचनात् असिद्धे शास्त्रप्रवृत्तेः स्थानी वा निवृत्तः आदेशश्चानुपजात इति प्रवृत्तमपि शास्त्रं यदा वचनादसिद्धतामापद्यते तदा तद्व्यापारसाध्ये लक्ष्ये विपर्ययेण बुद्धिः प्रवर्तमाना पुनरपि स्थानिनं च सत्त्वेनाश्रयति आदेशं चासत्त्वेन । तथा च वक्ष्यति 'मात् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां तस्यासिद्धत्वाद[1]योवकोदश'प्रसङ्गदोषो नोपपद्यते । ननु चानिर्वृत्ते कार्ये यदा स्वार्थाभिनिर्वृत्त्यर्था शास्त्रप्रवृत्तिस्तदा शास्त्रं शास्त्रात्मनि प्रतिपादकत्वे व्यवस्थितमसिद्धं विज्ञायेत । शास्त्रप्रवृत्त्युत्तरकालं तु प्रतिपन्ने शास्त्रार्थे चरितार्थत्वादेव स्वभावतो निवृत्तं शास्त्रं कथं शक्यं वचनेनासिद्धं विज्ञातुम् । कार्यं तदानीं विद्यते इति कार्यासिद्धत्वमाश्रयितुं युक्तम् । तथा च स्थान्यणत्वात् तत्कालत्वं न विद्यते इति । नैष दोषः । स्वमर्थं प्रतिपाद्य निवृत्तेऽपि शास्त्रे यदा तत्कार्यं—स तु नाश्रीयते तद् आश्रीयते—तदा शास्त्रप्रतिपादितमित्येवमवश्यं तदाश्रयितव्यम् । अन्तरेण हि शास्त्रानुगमं गौ[2]व्यादीनामपि साधुत्वमविशिष्टमिति न तेषामाश्रयः । एवं चेत्, यथैव शास्त्रप्रवृत्त्यवस्थायामसिद्धत्वे शास्त्रस्य विज्ञायमाने निमित्ताभावात् शास्त्रकार्ये बुद्धिः निवर्तते, एवं यदा यदा शौ[3]स्त्रानुगम्यत्वेऽनेकार्थमपेक्ष्यते तदा तदा शास्त्रमप्यपेक्ष्येत इति युक्तं तस्यासिद्धत्वमाश्रयितुम् । अतः प्लुते विहिते प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां विधीयमानायां प्लुतस्य प्रतिपादकं शास्त्रं यदाऽपेक्ष्यते

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१ अयोवकोदेशदप्रसंग. २ गाव्यादीनामपि साधुमविशिष्टमिति. ३ शास्चानुगम्यत्वेनेकार्थमपेक्षते.

तदा तस्यासिद्धत्वात् अविहित इव प्लुते स्थानिरूपमव्यावृत्तमिति तत्कालत्वात् सिद्धा प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा ॥ (महाभाष्य पृ. ६६ प. १–६)

सिद्धः प्लुतः....यदयं प्लुतस्य प्रकृतिभावं शास्ति । न चासति प्रकृतिभावे असिद्धत्वे प्लुतस्य स्वरसंधिः प्राप्नोति । तत्रावश्यं प्रकृतिभावो वक्तव्यः । न क्रमः । प्रकृतिभावार्थो यत्नः कर्तव्य इति असिद्धत्वात् तु पुनः ' प्रकृत्या ' इत्येवमाश्रयो नोपपद्यते आद्रियते च। तस्मात् नूनं सिद्धः प्लुत इति संनिधानमनुमीयते । ननु च यद्विषयं सिद्धत्वमन्तरेण प्लुतस्य कार्यविधानमनुपपन्नं तद्विषयमेवावश्यं सांनिध्यं शक्यमनुमातुम्। तेन प्रकृतिभावे एव प्लुतः सिद्धः स्यात् । तत् स्वरसन्धिमात्रे । तथा च वक्ष्यति—**आश्रयात् सिद्धत्वं च यथा रोरुत्वे इति** । सत्यमेवम् । एतावदाह—त्रयः कल्पाः संभवन्ति, प्रकृतिभावविषयं वा प्लुतस्य सिद्धत्वानुमानं स्वरसंधिप्रकरणविषयं वा प्लुतभाविन एव वा स्थानिनः प्रकृतिभावो विज्ञायेत इति । अनुमानपक्षेऽपि वाक्येऽनुमीयमाने एकयोग[1]सिद्धत्वविषयं वा वाक्यमनुमीयते, प्रकरणसिद्धत्वविषयं वा । विशेषदृष्टं चैव ह्यनुमानमस्ति सामान्यतोदृष्टम् । उभयथा प्लुतसम्बन्धस्य मुख्यादभिधेयाद-प्रच्युतिः । एष विशेषः । एकयोगविषयत्वे नान्तरीयक एवार्थोऽनुमितो भवति, प्राकरणिके तु लिङ्गे यद्यप्यान्तरीयकस्य सामान्यवदनुमानं तथापि व्याप्तिराश्रिता भवति । प्लुत[2]भावी इति तु विज्ञायमाने यद्यप्यमुख्येऽर्थे प्लुतशब्दस्य वृत्तिः, तथापि न क्वचिदश्रुतमनुमातव्यं भवति। तदिह सामान्यतोदृष्टं लिङ्गमाश्रित्य प्रकरणविषयं वाक्यमनुमीयते — **सिद्धः प्लुतः स्वरसंधिषु** इति। लघुत्वमपि वाऽस्यां कल्पनायां इत्येतद् दर्शयति। **अप्लुतादप्लुत इत्येतन्न वक्तव्यं भवति**। सिद्धे हि प्लुते अतत्कालत्वात् प्लुतस्य निमित्तत्वं न भविष्यति इति यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषमित्याह । **किमतो यत् सिद्धः प्लुतः स्वरसन्धिषु** । नायं स्वरसन्धिः प्रकरणान्तरे हि इयं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा विधीयते इति । **संज्ञाविधौ च सिद्धः** । **कथम्** । **कार्यकालं संज्ञा-परिभाषमिति** । कार्यप्रयुक्ता संज्ञाप्रवृत्तिरिति। कार्ये गुणा[3]न्तर्भावमन्तरेण संज्ञायाः

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१ एकप्रयो सिद्धत्व. २ प्लुतभावि इति तु. ३ गुणान्तर्भावान्तरेण.

स्वार्थलाभो न विद्यते। भवतिपचतीत्येवमादिषु यद्यकारादीनामजादिसंज्ञाः न स्युः, नं[1] किञ्चिद् दुष्येत । न चान्तरेण प्रयोजनं शास्त्रं प्रवर्तितुमर्हति इति नात्राजादिसंज्ञा भवन्ति । कार्यतन्त्राणामपि तु संज्ञानां[2] भिन्नप्रदेशेषु बहुषु प्रधानेषु अङ्गभावप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं केनचिद[3]संयुक्ता प्रकर्षेणोत्कर्षेण सर्वार्था संज्ञा विधीयते । अस्यास्तु प्रदेशविषय एवात्मलाभः। तेनान्यत्रापि पठ्यमाना प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा स्वरसन्धि–प्रकरणसंनिवेशिनी विज्ञायते। क्वचिद् विशेषाभावात् पृच्छति। **किं पुनः प्लुतस्य प्रगृह्यसंज्ञावचने प्रयोजनम्** । यत्र विशेषगतमधिकृत्याह । **प्रगृह्याश्रयः प्रकृतिभावो यथा स्यात्**। पूर्वाभिप्रेतमेव क्वचिदविशेषं दर्शयति—**मा भूदेवं** प्रगृह्याः प्रकृत्येति । **प्लुतः प्रकृत्येत्येवं भविष्यति** । न प्रकृतिभावे कश्चिद् विशेषः । यत्र प्लुताश्रयः प्रकृतिभावः निषिध्यते तत्रावश्यं प्रगृह्याश्रयः प्रकृतिभावः एषितव्यः इत्याह—**नैवं शक्यम्** । **उपस्थिते** (हि) **दोषः स्यात्** । अग्नी ३ इति । अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते इति प्लुताश्रये प्रकृतिभावे प्रतिषिद्धे यदि प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा न स्यात् प्रगृह्याश्रयोऽपि प्रकृतिभावो नास्ति इति स्वरसन्धिः प्रसज्येत । सत्यां तु प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां प्रतिषिद्धे प्लुताश्रये प्रगृह्याश्रयः प्रकृतिभावो भवति । तत्रैतत् स्यात् नैवात्रेष्यते प्रकृतिभाव इति तदर्थमाह—पठिष्यति ह्याचार्यः ‘ वद्वचनं प्लुतकार्यप्रतिषेधार्थम् ’ ‘ प्लुतप्रतिषेधे हिं प्रगृह्यप्लुतप्रतिषेधप्रसङ्गोऽन्येन विहितत्वात् ’ इति । यदि प्लुत एव प्रतिषिध्येत योऽपि प्रगृह्यः प्लुतस्तस्यापि त्रिमात्रतायां निवृत्तायां द्विमात्रस्य श्रवणं स्यात् । प्लुताश्रये तु प्रकृतिभावे प्रतिषिद्धे य एवाप्रगृह्यः प्लुतस्तस्यैव स्वरसन्धिः, भवति देवदत्ता ३ इति देवदत्तेति । यस्तु प्रगृह्यस्तस्य प्लुतकार्ये प्रतिषिद्धेऽपि प्रगृह्याश्रये प्रकृतिभावे कृते त्रिमात्रश्रुतिरुपपन्ना भवति । तस्मादस्ति प्रयोजनं प्लुतस्य प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायाम् । सा च व्यक्तिपदार्थाभ्युपगमान्न प्राप्नोति ।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६६ प. १—प.१७)

यदि पुनर्दीर्घाणामतपराणां प्रगृह्यसंज्ञोच्येत ।किं पुनरयं तपरत्वाद्दोष आगतो यत उच्यते—**यदि पुनर्दीर्घाणामिति** । व्यक्तिपदार्थाभ्युपगमात्तु अयं दोषः ।

१ न किंचिदुत्. २ संज्ञानाभिन्न०. ३ केनचिसंयुक्ता.

तत्र केचिदाहुः—[1]एतदेवाहापरित्यज्य व्यक्तिं यथाऽऽकृतौ पदार्थे दीर्घ उच्येत यत्नाधिक्यात् ह्रस्वेष्वप्रसङ्गः स्यात्। प्लुतस्य च स्यात् प्रगृह्यत्वम्। तथापि तु ह्रस्वनिवर्तकं स्यात् इति अतपराणामित्याह। इतरस्तु [2]व्यक्तावेव पदार्थे परेणेदमुक्तमित्याह। **एवमप्येकार (एव) एकः सवर्णान् गृह्णीयात्। न त्वीकारोकारौ गृह्णीयाताम् अनण्त्वात् इति।** अथवा व्यक्तावेव पदार्थे कस्यचित् तावदस्ति सवर्णग्रहणं सामर्थ्यादित्याह—**यदि पुनरिति।** इतर एवमपि कश्चिद्दोषो निवर्तत इत्याह—**एवमपीति।** अपर आह—दीर्घाणामप्यणोऽप्रगृह्यस्येत्येवमादिषु अच्कार्याणि दृष्टानि। तस्मात् सवर्णस्येत्यत्रापि तथैव भवितुमर्हति इत्युक्तम्—**यदि पुनर्दीर्घाणामतपराणामिति।** अन्यत्राप्यसवर्णस्येति अनेन दीर्घाणां कार्याणि लभन्ते। [3]ग्रहणकशास्त्रे यदण्ग्रहणं तत्र नान्यत् ग्रहणकशास्त्रमस्ति। तस्यैव चाण्ग्रहणस्य स्वात्मनि वृत्तिरयुक्ता। अन्तरेण चाण्ग्रहणं यत् परिशिष्टं तत् अपरिसमाप्तार्थत्वात् ग्रहणं प्रत्यसमर्थमित्याह—**एवमप्येकारः (एव) एक इति। यदि पुनर्ह्रस्वानामिति।** तपरत्वे अग्नी वायू इत्यत्र न स्यात्। अतपरत्वात् पुनः व्यक्तावपि पदार्थे अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति दीर्घाणां प्लुतानां च सिद्धा प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा। ह्रस्वस्यापि तु प्राप्नोति। कथं पुनरत्रेदं बहुवचनम्। केचिद् विरूपैकशेषमाहुः प्रथमयोरिति यथा। उदाहरणभेदाद् भेदमन्ये ब्रुवते।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६६ प. १८—प. २०)

एवं तर्हि किं न एतेन (यत्नेन) (यत्) सिद्धः प्लुतः (स्वरसन्धिषु) इति। कथं यत् (तत्) ज्ञापकमुक्तम्। ज्ञापकमन्यथा समर्थ्यते—प्लुतः प्राप्नोतीति प्लुतभावी, प्लुतो भावी अस्येति वा। प्लुतभावेन स्थानिन एव प्रकृतिभावः। अस्यां कल्पनायां अश्रुतं वाक्यं नानुमेयं भवति। असिद्धपरिभाषायाश्चाबाधया प्रकृतिभावशास्त्रकल्पनया च द्वयमनुगृहीतं भवति। गुणशब्दकल्पनायाश्चैतदेव लिङ्गं यदयं 'अप्लुतादप्लुते' इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति। ननु चास्थानिनः प्लुतस्याप्लुतत्वमाश्रयता वदुपेक्षितः। तस्य चासिद्धत्वात् असतोऽपेक्षा न युज्यते। तत्र समाहुः। इह क्वचित् शास्त्रानिमित्तकेषु शब्देषु व्यवह्रियते। क्वचित् लौकिकं

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१ एतदेवाहामपहायापरित्यज्य. २ व्यक्त स्वकवयवार्थे. ३ ग्रहणशास्त्र.

दर्शनमाश्रीयते । तथाहि इतरेतराश्रयदोषस्तत्र तत्र परिह्रियते । ‘ सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वात् ’ । न हि वृद्धिसंज्ञयाऽऽदैचो भाव्यन्ते, सतामादैचां साधकत्वमात्रमन्वाख्यायत इति । असत्येव हि प्रतिपादके लक्षणे तेषां साध्यमाश्रीयते । एवं कृत्वा लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोरित्येतत् स्यात् । क्वचिदनाश्रयणं भवति । शास्त्रनिरपेक्षायां शब्दप्रवृत्तौ न किञ्चित् लक्षणोक्तं न प्रतिपदोक्तमस्ति । ननु च लोके स्थान्यादेशाभावात् प्लुतभावित्वमनुपपन्नम् । नैष दोषः । लोकेऽपि हि विषयाविषयभावः परिच्छिद्यते । स्वविषयेऽयं भवतीति । तथा चोक्तम्——‘ इजादियजादिप्रवृत्तिश्चैव हि लोके दृश्यते ’ इत्येवमादि । अनन्तरमेव च वक्ष्यति——‘मार्थादीदाद्यर्थानामिति’। एतस्यां तु कल्पनायां भाविगतिविज्ञानमनर्थकं, सांप्रतिकत्वमपि हि लौकिकदर्शने शक्यमाश्रयितुम् । को वा विशेषः । यदुपलक्षणार्थमाश्रितस्य प्लुतस्य सत्त्वं गृह्येत न कार्यिणः । तत्र केचिदाहुः——सत्यम्, वर्तमानत्वमपि संभवति भावित्वमपि । भावित्वं त्विहाश्रितमिति तन्न युक्तम् । साम्प्रतिकाभावे हि सर्वत्र भावित्वमाश्रीयते[1] । अपि चात्रान्य एव पक्षः संभवति । **यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाष**माश्रयितव्यमिति । एवमपि यत् सिद्धं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाकार्यं तत् न सिध्यति । कार्यकाले हि संज्ञापरिभाषे । अनुनासिकपर्युदासदेशौ[2] या प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा तस्यां सिद्धः प्लुतः । तत्र त्रिमात्रत्वात् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायामसत्यां अग्नी इत्यत्रानुनासिकपर्युदासो न प्राप्नोति । **एवं तर्हि किं न एतेन ‘ कार्यकालमिति यथोद्देशमपि ’** भविष्यति । कथं पुनरिदमभ्युपगममात्रेण शक्यं लब्धुम् । तत्र केचिदाहुः । इहान्तरेण गुणं संबन्धं प्रतिपद्यन्ते । उपकारभेदाच्च प्रधानानां द्वयी प्रवृत्तिर्दृष्टा । कदाचिद्राजा हर्म्यादिदेशमुपश्लिष्यति, कदाचिद् हर्म्यादयो राजदेशमुपनीयन्ते । तत्र यदा कालस्थिते संज्ञापरिभाषे गुणकालं कार्याण्युपनिपतान्ति तदा प्रधानमपि गुणदेशं भवति स्वकार्यप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । भवति यथानिमित्तमुदकदेशगमनम् । तत्र यदा गुणदेशं भवति प्रधानं तदा यथोद्देशत्वम् । यदा तु भिन्नेषु अङ्गभावप्रतिपत्त्यर्थमभिप्रेतेन केनचित् प्रधानेनासंयुक्तस्य सत्यामपि नानावाक्यविधेयतायां लब्ध्वर्थं भेदपरित्यागे सामान्याश्रयणलब्धेन अभेदकत्वेन सत् तदुपदेशे प्रकरणोत्कर्षेण

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१ भावीयमाश्रीयते. २ देशायाः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाया सिद्धः.

क्रियमाणे प्रधानवियुक्तस्य स्वकालानुरोधेन किञ्चित् कार्यमस्ति । ततः[1] कस्यांचिदवस्थायामस्वातन्त्र्येणाश्रयणमाह । अत औत्पत्तिकेन अर्थव्यापारक्रमेण प्रधानगामित्वं प्रधानवाक्येनाविभागापत्तौ कार्यकालत्वम् । अन्ये त्वन्यथैतत् द्वैतं समर्थयन्ते । अनेकप्रधानविषयेषु हि गुणेषु प्रतिप्रधानं च भेदेन प्रवृत्तिर्दृष्टा । स्रगनुलेपनादिषु अभेदेन च प्रतिपादितेषु तु तत्र प्रतिप्रधानं भेदकल्पनायां स्वकालादप्रच्युतानामेष्वप्रधानानामनुग्रहे संभवति कार्यकालत्वम् । अभेदप्रवृत्तौ तु असम्भवो यदेकेन गुणेन एकं प्रचरति । अस्मिन् कल्पिते व्यवस्थितमपि सम्बन्धं यायादिति गुणे[2] स्वात्मन्यवस्थिते विशिष्टेनात्मसंस्कारेणाधीने प्रधानानि युगपत् गुणकालमनुपतन्ति इति । यथोद्देशरूपतस्तु द्वयमपि नोपपद्यते । एवं हि वक्ष्यति । यदि सपादायां सप्ताध्याय्यां (अयं) पादोनो[3]ऽध्यायोऽसिद्धो य इह पञ्चमीनिर्देशाः सप्तमीनिर्देशाश्च तेषामसिद्धत्वात् तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य इत्येष नियमो न प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । यद्यपीदं[4] तत्रासिद्धं तत्त्विह सिद्धम् । कथम् । **कार्यकालं हि संज्ञापरिभाषम**मिति । तत्र यथैव कार्यकालानां गुणानामेकवाक्यभावे पूर्वपरव्यपदेशहानेन पृथक्कार्यत्वाच्चेदमस्मिन् सिद्धमित्येतद्द्यते, एवं गुणदेशत्वे प्रधानानामेकवाक्यभावे पूर्वपरव्यपदेशविधिर्विज्ञायते ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६६ प. २१—पृ. ६७ प. २)

एवमुभयस्मिन् दोषं परिकल्प्य दोषान्तरैः[5]प्रयोजनापेक्षायां प्रश्नः । **ईदादयो द्विवचनं प्रगृह्या इति चेदन्त्यस्य विधिः** । ईदादेः पचेते इति । योऽत्रेदादिर्न तत् द्विवचनं नैव कश्चिदेकारो द्विवचनमस्तीति मन्यमान आह—**वचनात्[6] भविष्यति** । द्विवचनेनावयवे[7] द्विवचनशब्दो वर्तते इत्यभिप्रायः । यथा लिङ्सिचावित्यत्रात्मनेपदावयवे आत्मनेपदमिति व्यपदिश्यते लिङः सीयुडिति । **अस्ति वचने प्रयोजनं खट्वे इति** । यद्यप्येतत् न मुख्यं द्विवचनं तथापि अत्रादिवद्भावेनास्ति

१ यतः. २ गुणेश्वान्मन्यवस्थिते. ३ पादोध्यायोसिद्धो. ४ यद्यपीदतोत्रासिद्धं. ५ दोषान्तरप्रयोजनापेक्षायां प्रयोजनापेक्षायां प्रश्नः. ६ द्विर्वचनाद्भविष्यति. ७ सर्वत्राच प्रकरणे द्विवचनशब्दस्य स्थाने द्विर्वचनशब्दो लिखित उपलभ्यते । ननूं लेखकप्रमाद एवायम् ।.

द्विवचनव्यपदेश इति । त्रपुणी जतुनी इत्यत्र तु पूर्वभक्तत्वात् नुम् इति । एवमेव द्विवचनमिति चोप[1]न्यस्तम् ॥ (महाभाष्य पृ. ६७ प. ३–प. ८)

ईदाद्यन्तमिति चेदेकस्य विधिः । खट्वे इति । ईदूतोः केवलयोरेव सम्भव इति न तावदाद्यन्तमाश्रीयते । कथं पुनरनन्यार्थमारभ्यमाणा आद्यन्तवत्–परिभाषा नाश्रिता । उच्यते । नावश्यं ग्रन्थगौरवमेव गौरवं भवति, । किं तर्हि । प्रतिपत्तिगौरवमपि । तदेतस्मिन् पक्षेऽयमेव दोष उपादीयते प्रक्रियागौरवमभ्युपगन्तव्यं भवतीति । इतरस्तु यद्यन्यः प्रकारोऽस्ति निर्दोष एवं प्रक्रियागौरवं शक्यमनभ्युपगन्तुम् । न चात्रास्ति अन्यः प्रकार इति तमाश्रयति ।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६७ प. ९–प. १०)

न वाऽऽद्यन्तवत्त्वादिति । एतदपि तु नाश्रयिष्यामीत्याह । **अथवैवं वक्ष्यामि । ई[2]दाद्यन्तं यद् द्विवचनान्तमिति** । ननु च संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्नास्तीति । सत्यम्, संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिः प्रतिषिध्यते । न त्विह द्विवचनं संज्ञित्वेनाश्रीयते, किं तर्हि, ई[3]दाद्यन्त तद्विशेषणं द्विवचनं ईदाद्यन्तं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति तच्चेद् द्विवचनान्तमिति । कथं पुनः श्रुत्या प्रकरणेन वा कार्यिणः संनिधानमन्तरेण ईदादिभिस्त[4]दन्तविधिः श्रितः क्वचिदस्ति । पूर्वस्तर्हि पक्षो नोपपद्यते ईदादयो द्विवचनमिति । केचिदाहुः । कार्यकालं हि संज्ञापरिभाषं यथोद्देशं च । तत्र (कार्य-) कालेपदाधिकारे प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाव्यापारात् पदं कार्यित्वेन संनिहितम् । तत्र यथा ष्यङः संप्रसारणमिति सामर्थ्यलभ्यसंनियोगपूर्वं पदं कार्यित्वेनाश्रीयते, एवं पदस्य कार्यिणः ईदादिभिः तदन्तविधिरिति । यथोद्देशतायां तु प्रगृह्यकार्येषु अनपेक्षितेषु कार्यिणोऽभावात् यथाश्रुतपरिकल्पना । अथवा कार्यकाल एव सतीदादीनां प्राधान्यात् तदन्तविध्यभावो, न त्विद[5]मुपपद्यते यथोद्देशसंज्ञापरिभाषाभ्युपगतम् । एवं तर्हि पूर्वं द्विवचनेन तदन्तविधिः प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित इति । न ह्यत्रावश्यं कार्यिणः संनिधानमपेक्ष्यते । ततो द्विवचनान्तस्य संज्ञिनः ईदादि-

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१ मोपन्यस्तम्. २ ईदायं द्विर्वचन्तन्तं. ३ इदार्थततद्विशेषा द्विर्वचेनमादायंतं. ४ तदन्तविधिः श्वि... चिदास्ति. ५ उपपद्यत यथोद्देशादिसंज्ञा.

भिस्तदन्तविधिः । न हीदाद्यन्तद्विवचन्तान्तमिति अयमुच्चारक्रमः । तत्र द्विवचनान्तमीदाद्यन्तमेतत् भवति । एवं तु सति प्रत्ययरूपेण संज्ञिनः आश्रयात् तदन्तविधिरप्यवसितो दर्शनमात्रात्, एवमिहापि । दृष्टो हि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायां तदन्तविधिः । कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्चेति चतुर्थ एव पक्षे तदन्तविध्यनुपपत्तिरुक्ता सा इहापि द्रष्टव्या । दोषान्तरेण वा निवृत्ते विहितत्वात् अयं दोषो नाभिहितः ।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६७ प. ११–प. १३)

ईदाद्यन्तमिति चेत् लुकि प्रतिषेधः । कथं पुनर्द्विवचनान्तस्य समासः यावता **संख्याविशेषो व्यक्ताभिधानमुपसर्जनविशेषणं चयोगः इत्येकार्थीभावकृता विशेषाः** वर्णिताः । तथा च द्विवचनबहुवचनान्तानामसमास इत्युक्तम् । तत्र केचिदाहुः—लुकेयं[1]मन्वाख्याता विभक्तिरिष्यते । न च सतः शब्दस्य लुकाऽन्वाख्यानमस्ति । तत्र वाक्ये दृष्टस्य द्विवचनस्य वृत्तिविषये संख्याविशेषपरित्यागात यैवासौ स्वाभाविकी निवृत्तिः सा लुग्व्यापारेणान्वाख्यायते । तथा चाह— **अव्ययादापो लुग्वचनानर्थक्यं लिङ्गाभावात्** । किं पुनः कारणं भवानापो लुग्वचनं न मृष्यति विभक्तेर्मृष्यति । अस्त्यत्र विशेषः । **प्रत्ययलक्षणमाचार्यः प्रार्थयमानो** विभक्तेर्लुकमारभते इत्युक्तम् । उभयं हि स्वभावतो निवर्तते । यस्य तु निवृत्तत्वाख्याने प्रयोजनमस्ति तस्य निवृत्तिराख्यायते इति । तत्तु न युक्तं प्रसङ्गाभावात । प्रसक्तादर्शनं हि लोपसंज्ञम् । यत्त्वसमासोऽर्थवाक्यं लोके उ[2]क्तमदृष्टप्रयोगं समासस्य प्रतिपादकं तत्रैकार्थभावविषये स्वार्थमात्रोपयोगिषू[3]पसर्जनेषु तु भेदेनानर्थिषु व्यपदेशार्थमभेदेनैकत्वसंख्यायामाश्रितायां भेदसंख्याविषयाणां वच[4]नानामतिप्रसङ्गो नैव स्यात् । एकार्थभावविषयाण्युपसर्जनपदानि अनाश्रितभेदसंख्यानि स्वपदार्थमात्रोपकारीणि विज्ञायन्ते । सामर्थ्यशब्दान्तरो[5]पठितानां तूपसर्जनानां सत्यपि प्रधानार्थोपस्कारे संख्याविशेषव्यवतावनिवृत्तायामेव सामर्थ्यात शौर्पिकादिषु मूल्यपरिमाणावधारणार्थो हि शौर्पिकशब्दप्रयोगः संख्याविशेषस्यानाश्रये न स्यात् । न च प्रयोगनिमित्तापाकरणं युक्तम् । एवं मासजाते चयोगविशेषसम्प्रत्ययः । गोषु-

१ लुकेथमन्वाख्यातो विभक्ति. २ लोके द्युक्तं. ३ उपसर्जनेषु स्वभेदेनानर्थिषु.
४ वचनो नाम प्रसंगो मेतयवत्. ५ शब्दन्तरोपठितानं'.

चरे ऽनवयवद्रव्यसंयोगार्थं विभक्त्युपादानम् । प्रत्याख्यानपक्षे जात्याख्यायामित्येकवचनम् । व्यवस्थितविभाषया हि गविष्ठिर एकवचनमेव दृश्यते । वर्षासुजे[1] रूढिशब्दसंप्रत्ययः । द्विपुत्र उभयभार्य[2] इति पूर्वपदोपादानसामर्थ्यात् । तथाहि य एव तस्य स्वार्थः तस्य वृद्धिनिमित्तादिषु निमित्तशब्दोपादानसामर्थ्यं यथासंभवं द्रष्टव्यम् । तथा शब्दान्तरोपसंधानादव्यक्तविशेषेषूपसर्जनसंख्याविशेषोपादानसामर्थ्यं दृष्टम् । तद्यथा । गार्ग्यकुलादिषु प्रत्ययस्य भावाभावाभ्यां भेदव्यक्तिः गोदौ वरणाः इत्यतिदेशभाजिविकारदर्शनात्, यौष्माकस्तावकोऽमुष्यपुत्र इति आदेशरूपात् । तत्र कुमार्यगोरेऽपि प्रकृतिभाव एव द्विवचनकार्यं संख्याविशेषोपादानव्यक्तिनिमित्तं स्यात् । एतस्यां कल्पनायां राजपुरुषादिषु विशेषवाचिनः शब्दस्याभावात् विशेषो गम्यते[3] इत्यापन्नम् । तत्रैकार्थीभावकृतश्चायं संख्याविशेष इत्येतन्नोपपद्यते । यच्चोक्तं 'ननु च नैतेनैवं भवितव्यम् । न हि शब्दनिमित्तकेन नामार्थेन भवितव्यम्, अर्थनिमित्तकेन शब्देन भवितव्यम् । तदेवं दृश्यतामर्थरूपमेवैतदेवंजातीयकं येनात्र विशेषो न गम्यत इति । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् । यो हि मन्यते योऽसौ विशेषवाची शब्दः तदसांनिध्यादत्र विशेषो न गम्यते इति इह तस्य विशेषो गम्येत अप्सुचरो वर्षासुज इति' तत् विप्रतिषिध्यते । दास्याः पुत्रादिषु चैकवचनसंनिधानादेकत्वं गम्यते । तस्मान्न शब्दविशेषकृते संख्यायाः परित्यागोपादाने एकार्थीभावकृत एवायं विशेषः । तदेतत् समर्थवार्त्तिक एव निर्णेष्यते ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६७ प. १५–प. १७)

सप्तम्यामर्थग्रहणं तु ज्ञापकम् .... । सप्तमीत्येव श्रूयमाणायां लुप्तालुप्तायां तु प्रत्ययलक्षणेन सिद्धेऽर्थग्रहणं प्रगृह्यप्रकरणे प्रत्ययलक्षणनिवृत्यर्थम् । **एतत्तर्हि ज्ञापकार्थमर्थग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्** । आद्यन्तवत्परिभाषां चान्यार्थां सतीमाशिश्रियमित्ययं पक्षः समाश्रितः । तत्र कर्तव्यक्रियाभ्युपगमो न युक्त इति । एवं तर्हि **ईदादिभिर्द्विवचनं विशेषयिष्यामः** । तृतीये पक्षे ईदादीनां द्विवचनस्य च परस्परमभिसम्बन्धे समुदायं प्रति संनिपातः । इदं तु प्राक् समुदायसम्बन्धादीदादि-

१ वर्षासुजे रुढि. २ उभयभाष्य इति. ३ नम्यते इत्यपन्नं.

भिर्द्विवचनं विशेष्यते । ततो लब्धे तदन्तविधौ ईदाद्यन्ततया विशिष्टेन[1] द्विवचनेन समुदायः सम्बध्यते । प्रत्ययग्रहण इति च द्वितीयस्तदन्तविधिर्भवति । यद्येवमीदादीनां समुदायेन साक्षात् सम्बन्धाभावात् तदन्तमीदाद्यन्तमिति ईदादिभिः सम्बन्धप्रदर्शनं समुदायस्य नोपपद्यते । नैष दोषः । आक्षिप्ततदन्तविधित्वात् ईदादि-[2]शब्दस्येदाद्यन्तत्वमेव प्रतिनिर्दिशति । तत्र यावदुक्तं स्यात् ईदादीति तावदीदाद्यन्तमिति । **एवमप्यशुक्ले (वस्त्रे) शुक्ले समपद्येतां शुक्ल्यास्तां वस्त्रे इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति** । कुमार्यगारे हि यद्द्विवचनं ओस् इति न तदीदाद्यन्तमिति । एवमिह तु शुक्लशब्दात् सुबन्तात् च्विः सुब्लुक्, ततः च्विलोपः, अस्य च्वाविति ईत्वं, तद्धितादव्ययादेकवचनं, तस्याव्ययादिति लुक्, तत्र विभक्त्यादेश ईकारः तेनेदाद्यन्तद्विवचनान्त एष समुदायः **प्रत्ययलक्षणेन भवति** । यस्त्वयमीकारः श्रूयते यणादेशप्राप्तिप्रदर्शनार्थमयमुदाह्रियते । तत्र येषां तावत् ग्रन्थः ' तत्र हि ईदादि च द्विवचनं, तदन्तं च भवति प्रत्ययलक्षणेन ' इति तेषां ईदाद्यन्तं ईदादिशब्देनाभिधीयते इति द्रष्टव्यम् । ईदाद्यन्तं द्विवचनमित्यर्थः । येषां तु[3] ग्रन्थः' अत्र हि ईदाद्यन्तं श्रूयते द्विवचनान्तं च भवति प्रत्ययलक्षणेन' इति तेषां यद्यपि ईदाद्यन्तस्य संप्रति श्रुतिर्न विद्यते, तथापि वाक्यशेषसमर्थनाददोषः । ईदाद्यन्तं च श्रूयते सूत्रे ईदादि द्विवचनमिति । ईदादिभिर्द्विवचनस्य सूत्रे तदन्तविधिर्नाश्रित इत्यर्थः । यश्चार्थः सूत्रे स एवं परिगृहीतः । तस्यानेन ग्रन्थेनोदाहरणे समवायं दर्शयति—**द्विवचनान्तं च भवति प्रत्ययलक्षणेन** । अन्ये तु द्वयोः पक्षयोरिमं दोषनिमित्तोपसंहारमाहुः । एतद्धि ईदाद्यन्तं च श्रूयते । कुमार्यगारमित्यत्र एव तृतीये पक्षे (यद्) इदं **शुक्ल्यास्तामिति** तदपि विशिष्टम् । चतुर्थे पक्षे दोषं प्रतिज्ञाय तदुपपत्त्यभिधानाद**कृते शीभावे** ईकारान्ततायामनुपजातायां **च्वेर्लुग्भविष्यतीत्याह । इदमिह संप्रधार्यमिति । कृतेऽपि शीभावे लुक् प्राप्नोति अकृतेऽपि ।** ननु लुकि कृते शीभावस्य प्राप्तिरस्ति स्थानिनोभावात् । स्थानिवद्भाव[4] एवंप्रकारेषु नास्ति । यद्यपि भूयिष्ठानि लोप एव स्थानिवद्भावोदाहरणानि, एवमपि यत्र तन्नि-

१ विशब्देन द्विवचनेन. २ शब्दस्येदाद्यन्तत्वमेव. ३ तेषां तु ग्रन्थोत्र.
४ स्थानिवद्भावो वं.

मित्तमन्यस्य कार्यं तत्र स्थानिवद्भावो न तु लोपस्यैव कार्यत्वमन्तरङ्गमपि विधिं बहिरङ्गो लुग्बाधत इति । तत्त्वन्तरङ्गत्वं शीभावस्य नोपन्यस्तम् । **अथापि कथंचित् नित्यो लुक् स्यात्** । यदि लक्षणमनपेक्षितविषयं बाध्यत इत्येष पक्षः । कार्यबाधापेक्षायां यदि भेदान् परित्यज्य आकृतिविषये शास्त्रप्रवृत्तिः, एवं सत्यपि स्थान्यादेशभेदे सुब्जातिरविशिष्टा इति तस्यैव लुग्विधानात् नित्यत्वम् । **एवमपि दोषः । वक्ष्यत्येतदिति** । ननु चोक्तं कृत्तद्धितान्तं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायामाश्रीयमाणमिति । सत्यमेवमेतत् । पक्षस्तु क्रियते । अर्थवद्ग्रहणानुवृत्तेरिदमेव प्रयोजनं लौकिकस्यार्थस्य प्रत्यासन्नता कृत्तद्धितान्तस्य यथाऽऽश्रीयेतेति । अपि च ईदाद्यन्तं द्विवचनमित्येष पक्षः आद्यन्तवद्भावमाशिश्रियमिति[1] प्राक्रियागौरवभयात् परित्यक्तः । अत्रापि च अग्नी इति वायू इति एवमर्थमप्यस्य **आद्यन्तवद्भाव एषितव्यः** । अपरिहार्यश्चैवं[2] लोके **स एव मध्यमः पक्षः** । तृतीयपक्षकल्पश्चतुर्थ इति द्वितीयो मध्यमः, चतुर्णामपि द्वितीयो मध्यम एव । अथास्मिन् पक्षे शुक्ल्यास्तामिति कथं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा न भवति । कार्यिणोऽभावात् । द्विवचनं चात्र कार्यि, न चासत् कार्यि वचनेनापि (शक्यम्) आश्रयितुम् । एवमेते चत्वारः पक्षाः—ईदादि द्विवचनम् । ईदाद्यन्तं द्विवचनम् । ईदाद्यन्तः समुदायः द्विवचनान्तः । ईदाद्यन्तं द्विवचनान्तमिति ॥ (महाभाष्य पृ. ६७. प. १८–पृ. ६८ प. ७)

अदसो मात् ॥ १. १. १२ ॥

मात् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायामिति विषयोपलक्षणं न्यासनिर्देशो वा । यद्यन्यो न्यासः क्रियेत यत्र सम्बन्धीनि[3] अदसो वाऽऽश्रीयेरन् यत्र च नेष्यते तं विषयं पर्युदस्य प्रगृह्यसंज्ञोच्येत न स्यादयं दोषः । एतस्मिंस्तु न्यासनिमित्तस्य कार्यिणश्चास्यासिद्धत्वात् तमाश्रितस्य कार्यस्य[4] चासिद्धत्वात् **तस्येति** कृत्स्नमेव निमित्त निमित्तिसमुदायमभेदेनाश्रयति । **तस्य** ईत्वस्य **ऊत्वस्य** चकारात् मत्वस्येति गम्यते । **त्रयाणामसिद्धत्वात् अथवादेश**प्रसङ्गः । युक्तं तावत् ईदादीनामसिद्धत्वात् यत् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा न स्यात् । स्थानिनां तु पूर्वमेव निवर्तितत्वात् अयादीनां

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१ आद्यन्तभावमासिश्रियमिति. २ अपरिहार्यं चैव लोके. ३ सर्वदान्यदसो नाश्रीरन् यत्र च. ४ कार्यस्यासिद्धस्तस्येति.

कुतः प्रसङ्गः । अपि च यथैव प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायामीदादीनामसिद्धत्वमेवं सिद्धयणादिष्वपि यणादेशादिप्रतिबन्धमात्रमेव च प्रगृह्यसंज्ञया प्रार्थ्यते इति मा भूत् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा । नैतदस्ति । शास्त्रासिद्धत्वमाश्रीयते । शास्त्रनिमित्ता च शब्देषु बुद्धिपरिणतिः । बुद्धिप्रतिपादकस्यासत्त्वे प्राकृते नैव प्रकृतिरूपशा[1]स्त्रस्थान्यवतिष्ठन्ते । तत्र स्थानिनो निवृत्तेरप्रतिपन्नत्वात् अयादयः प्राप्नुवन्ति । **अमी आसते** इत्ययादेशः, **अमू आसते** इत्यवादेशः **अमी अत्र** इति एङः पदान्तादित्येकादेशः । ननु च द्विपदाश्रयत्वात् अयादयो बहिरङ्गा ईदादिष्वेकपदाश्रयेष्वसिद्धाः । तत्र पूर्व एव नास्ति यतोऽसिद्धत्वं विज्ञायते पूर्वत्रासिद्धपरिभाषया ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ६८ प. ८—पृ. ७० प. ३)

। शे ॥ १. १. १३ ॥

श्रुतेरविशिष्टत्वात् विशेषपरिग्रहाभावाच्च काशे इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । तत्र प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । तद्यथा । दा[2]ग्रहणादतिप्रसङ्गोऽदाप् इति प्रतिषेध उच्यते । प्रत्यासत्तेरव्यभिचारात् साधारणत्वाच्च अन्तरेणापि रूपग्रहणं स्वग्रहणादेवा[3]र्थनिर्वृत्तौ रूपप्रतिपत्तौ सिद्धायां रूपग्रहणमन्यत्र बहिरङ्गस्याप्यर्थस्य रूपवदङ्गीकरणार्थम् । तेन यथैव तुल्यार्थानां रूपान्तरसंयुक्तानामसंप्रत्ययः, तद्वत् तुल्येऽपि तद्रूपेऽनर्थकानामिति तत्रानर्थकस्य शेशब्दस्यार्थवता संयुक्तस्य एकवचनेन सहैकादेशे वैगुण्यादर्थवदनर्थकयोरर्थान्तरं न किञ्चिदुपजातमिति अ[4]नर्थकोऽयं शेशब्दः । एवमपि **हरिशे बभ्रुशे** इति । तत्र हि ङिमत्वर्थीययोः प्रत्यययोः प्रत्ययार्थेनार्थवत्त्वात् अर्थवतोः संनिपाते समुदायानामवयवधर्मानुगमात् अवयवार्थेनार्थवत्त्वात् अयं समुदायोऽर्थवानिति जहत्स्वार्थीयां तु वृत्तौ प्र[5]कृतेरर्थपरित्यागात् प्रत्ययार्थ एव विभक्त्यर्थेन युज्यते । तेन प्रकृतिरनर्थिका । केवलप्रयोगनिवृत्त्यर्थे तु परवचने सति साधुत्वायैव प्रत्ययस्य प्रकृतिरवतिष्ठते इत्यर्थवशात् प्राप्नोति । **लक्षणोक्तत्वाददोषः । अथवेति** । सत्यपि अवयवयोरर्थवत्त्वे समुदायस्य

१ शा स्त्रस्याम्यवनिष्ठन्ते. २ दायग्रहणादतिप्रसङ्गो. ३ अर्थनिवृत्तौ. ४ अनर्थकोयं शेद्बः. ५ प्रकृतेर्थपरित्यागात्.

शेशब्दस्यान्योऽर्थो न विद्यते इत्यानर्थक्यम् । तत् कथमिह संख्याकर्मादयो हरिशशब्दवाच्यस्यार्थस्य विभक्त्याऽभिधीयन्ते, हरिशशब्देन वाऽभिहिताः पञ्च कथं विभक्त्या व्यज्यन्ते, तेनाविशिष्टस्य प्रत्ययार्थस्य संख्याकर्मादिभिर्योगः । तत्र जहत्स्वार्थायामजहत्स्वार्थायां वा वृत्तौ प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ प्रत्ययार्थं सह ब्रूतः इति सप्रकृतिकः संघातः संख्याकर्माद्याधारमर्थं ब्रवीति । अतः केवलेन शशब्देन योऽर्थ उच्यते तस्य विभक्त्यर्थेन सम्बन्धाभावात् शे इत्येतस्य समुदायस्यानर्थक्यम् । तत्र यथैव सन्नपि केवलः प्रकृत्यर्थो विभक्त्यर्थेन नाभिसम्बध्यते तथा केवलः प्रत्ययार्थोऽपि इति ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७० प. ४.–प. १०)

॥ निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १. १. १४ ॥

निपात इत्यनेनाचि विशेष्यमाणे तदन्तविध्यप्रसङ्गात् दोषप्रसङ्गो नोपतिष्ठति । वार्तिकविपरीते तु विशेष्यत्वे उत्तिष्ठति समुदायस्यार्थे प्रयोगात् । प्रत्ययरूपावधिपरिग्रहे च नियमाभावात् निपातस्यैव अर्थवत्ता संभवति । प्रत्ययस्य रूपद्वयम् । अर्थप्रयुक्ते (शब्दे) वर्णवदानर्थक्यं प्रत्ययानाम् । कदाचिच्च कश्चिदेव प्रत्ययरूपस्यावधिरभ्युपगम्यते । तद्यथा । विंशतिशब्दे शतिज्वा तिशब्दो वा, ऐकागारिकशब्दे इको वाऽऽगारिको वा । तथा केषांचित् विकरणाः प्राक् कर्तरि उत्पद्यन्ते । विकरणान्तात् स्वार्थे सार्वधातुकस्येत्यतो भवति । अत्रोच्यते । सत्यम् । लौकिकस्यार्थस्योपादाने नित्यत्वाच्च शब्दानां तुल्यरूपपूर्वभागानां पदानां वाक्यैकदेशपदसरूपावयवानां च समुदायानां वर्णवदानर्थक्यमवयवानाम् । तेषां तु शास्त्रे तुल्यरूपत्वात् तत्त्वेनाश्रितानामन्वयव्यतिरेकसमधिगम्येनार्थेनार्थवत्ता कार्यार्थं परिगृह्यते । यदि तर्हि अर्थवत्ता प्रत्ययानामाश्रीयते व्याकरणे यदुक्तं कृत्तद्धितान्तं चैव ह्यर्थवत् न केवलाः कृत्तद्धिता इति तस्य व्याघातो भवति । नैष दोषः । प्रत्ययस्यार्थेन नित्ययोगात्त्वर्थवदित्यनुवृत्तेः पुनःश्रुतिरनर्थिका मा भूत् इति

१ विभक्त्यर्थेस्तेबन्धरभावात्. २ इत्येननाविशेष्यमाणे. ३ दोषाप्रसंगोनोपतिष्ठति. ४ रद्वयमर्थे प्रेयुते वणवदानर्थक्यं. ५ विशतिशद्वे शातज्यातिशद्वे वा. ६ सार्वधातुकस्यैत्यतिभवति.

कश्चिदर्थः सन्नपि परित्यज्यते व्यभिचाराभावात् । शास्त्रे[1] एव चार्थः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायां निमित्तत्वेनाश्रीयते । इतरथा हि कृत्तद्धितान्तस्याप्यविभक्तिकस्य प्रत्ययेन तुल्यमानर्थक्यम् । तस्मात् प्रत्ययार्थेनार्थवत्त्वात् **चकारात्रे**त्यत्र णलः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा प्रसज्येत । तथा अततेर्डः अः, अ आगच्छेति । यदि तत्पुरुषे स[2]मानाधिकरणे निपातस्याचा तदन्तविधिर्विज्ञायेत केवलोऽप्याद्यन्तवद्भावात् प्रतीयेत । एवं च निपातेषु प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाकार्यसम्भवात् अज्ग्रहणमनर्थकं प्रसज्येत । अतोऽज्ग्रहणात् कश्चिदेव विशेष आश्रयिष्यते कश्चित् परित्यक्ष्यते । तत्रान्यतरविशेषपरित्या[3]गः । यदि तदन्त उपादीयेत केवलः परित्यज्येत, आङः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाया असम्भवात् पर्युदासोऽनर्थकः स्यात् । अतो लिङ्गविशेषा[4]दकृतिः केवलमेवावयवं रु[5]णद्धि तदन्तं च निरस्यति । स्यादेवं यद्यक्रियमाणेऽज्ग्रहणे ह[6]लन्ताः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायामभिसम्बध्येरन् । अस्ति चेत् संज्ञाया हलन्तानां सम्बन्धः हलन्तनिवृत्त्यर्थं स्यात् अज्ग्रहणम् । न खलु संज्ञासम्बन्धमात्रादेव दोषो जायते । कार्येषु वाऽसत्सु अपदार्था संज्ञा मा भूदनर्थिका शास्त्रप्रवृत्तिरिति सामान्याभिधानेऽपि तथाभूतं विषयं नावगाहते । तत्र कार्यार्थमभ्युपगच्छतः प्रगृह्यसं[7]ज्ञाया न किञ्चित् प्रयोजनमस्ति । दोषव्युदासार्थं वा विशेषमुपाददानस्य न कश्चिद् दोषोऽस्ति यन्निवृत्त्यर्थं विशेष उपादीयते । संहिताधिकारे हि प्रकृतिभाव आरभ्यते । तत्र च हलां न किञ्चित् कार्यमुच्यते यन्निवृत्त्यर्थः प्रकृतिभावः स्यात् । ननु चाधोऽगमन्नमोऽकार्षीदिति रोरु[8]त्वे प्रकृतिभावः स्यात् । इह सतामादेशिनामादेशनिवृत्त्यर्थः प्रकृतिभावः, न चात्र रुर्विद्यते पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्यसिद्धत्वात् । यदि न विद्यते, उत्वमपि न प्राप्नोति । आश्रयादुत्वे सिद्धत्वम् । इह तु विकारिणः प्रकृतिभाव इति स विकारी नास्ति यस्य प्रकृतिभावः क्रियते । यश्चास्ति सकारः न तस्य किञ्चित् कार्यमुच्यते । ननु च समुदायस्य प्रकृतिभावादवयवस्यादेशो निवर्तेत । सत्यपि समुदायस्य प्र[9]कृतिभावे स नास्ति यस्यादेश इति कस्यादेशो निवर्तेत । यश्चास्ति सकारो न

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१ शास्त्री एव. २ समानाधिकरणो. ३ परित्यागयदि. ४ विशेषाद स्कृतेः. ५ रुद्धि. ६ हलन्ततप्रगृह्य. ७ संज्ञान. ८ रोरुत्वप्रकृतिभावः. ९ प्रकृतिभावो सा,

तस्योत्वमुच्यते । एवं रोः प्रकृतिभावापेक्षायामविद्यमानत्वात् उत्वे[1] वाऽऽश्रयात् सिद्धत्वात् सकारस्य च कार्यावचनात् उत्वमत्र न शक्यं निवर्तयितुम् । तस्मात् हलन्तेषु **न कश्चिद् दोषो न प्रयोजनम् ।**

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७० प. ११–प. १९)

एवमप्यज्ग्रहणादन्यतरनिवृत्तौ क्रियमाणायामाद्यन्तवद्भावस्यान्ताश्रयविध्यधीनत्वात् निमित्तनिमित्तिभावात् तदन्तविधिना चैकत्र कार्याणामासिद्धत्वात् **द्वयोः परिभाषयोः सावकाशयोरिति** । निरवकाशस्य बाधनासम्भवात् । येन विधिस्तदन्तस्येति परिभाषाया अवकाशः चयः जयः । आद्यन्तपरिभाषाया ' धातोरन्त० ', ' मिदचोऽन्त्यात्'०, ' अचोऽन्त्यादि टि' यत्र साक्षादन्तग्रहणमस्ति । **समवस्थितयोरिति** । इह प्राप्तयोः स्वविषये वा समवस्थानात् समास्थितयोः येन विधिस्तदन्तस्येति संज्ञात्वेऽप्यस्य सामान्यशब्देनाभिधानम् । तद्यथा अधिकारो नाम त्रिप्रकार इत्यधिकारशब्दः । न इदं विचारयामः कोऽत्र बुद्धिक्रमः[2] कस्याश्चोपादानं युक्तमिति । आद्यन्तपरिभाषायास्तावत् तदन्तविधिनिमित्तत्वात् असंनिधाने निमित्तस्योपादानं न संभवति । तस्मादजित्येषा संज्ञा तदन्तांस्तावत् संज्ञिनः प्रत्याययति । अल्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् अन्यतरनिवृत्तौ तदन्तविधेरुपसंप्राप्तस्या[3]युक्तः परित्यागः । सत्यम् । क्रमात् तदन्तविधिरेवोपादीयते । ' क्रमात्तु लिङ्गं बलवत् ' इति लिङ्गविरोधिनस्तदन्तविधेराङ्ग पर्युदासवृत्तौ कृतायामाद्यन्तपरिभाषया[4] व्यवस्थानं भवति । भवेद् व्यवस्थानं यदि निमित्तमन्तरेण निमित्तवतां प्रवृत्तिर्लभ्यते । तदन्तविधिनैव वा क्रियमाणे तन्निमित्तस्याद्यन्तवद्भावात् ततो व्यवस्थानम् । एवं तर्हि अनयोरुभयोरपि परिभाषयोर्व्यावृत्तसामान्ययोर्गृह्यमाणा एकाचः[5] प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा लभ्येत । एतावद्धि विधेयम् । तच्चैवं सति सिद्धम् । यावत् सिद्धमयं तु ग्रन्थो नोपपद्यते **इयमिह परिभाषा भविष्यति आद्यन्तवदकस्मिन्** इति । परार्थत्वात् परिभाषाणां तत्फलनिवृत्तौ सत्यां गृह्यमाणानां प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायाः सम्बन्धे यदस्याः परिभाषायाः फलं तदस्तीति फलस्य भावात् परिभाषाया भाव

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१ उत्वे चाश्रयासिद्धत्वान्. २ बुद्धिक्रमः ३ रुपसप्राप्त (उत्सर्गप्राप्त ?) ४ परिषाये-वियस्थानं. ५ एवावा प्रगृह्यसंज्ञालक्ष्यव तावत् ह.

उपपद्यते । तद्यथा ङित्कितावििति । अथवाऽज्ग्रहणादन्यतरपरित्यागे लिङ्गाच्च तदन्तविधिनिमित्तत्वाच्च आद्यन्तवत्परिभाषाया [1]अप्रवृत्तौ तदन्तविधिरुपस्थानमात्रेणैव आद्यन्तपरिभाषामनुगृह्य कृतार्थो निवर्तते । यथा लिङ्गोपादानात्[2] स्वार्थात् तदन्तविधेः प्रवृत्तिर्न सम्भवति। तस्मिंश्चासति लिङ्गानुग्राहिणी आद्यन्तवत्परिभाषा नोपतिष्ठते । तस्मात् परार्थं तदन्तविधेरुपस्थानम् । स तावता कृतार्थो लिङ्गविरोधात् स्वार्थं न निर्वर्तयति । अथवा हलां कार्यमस्ति नास्तीति संज्ञाप्रदेशेष्वपि चैतेष्ववान्तरङ्गत्वात् उभयोः परिभाषयोरुपस्थाने सति अज्ग्रहणात् अन्यतरनिवृत्तौ लिङ्गादाद्यन्तपरिभाषया व्यवस्थानं भविष्यति । एवं तर्हि एकग्रहणमच्समुदायनिवृत्त्यर्थं क्रियत इति । न वैकग्रहणेन पराङ्गभूतेषु उपात्तसंख्याविशेषेषु वर्णग्रहणेषु अन्यत्राविवक्षितसंख्यात्वं ज्ञाप्यते । इहापि च प्रगृह्यसंज्ञार्था[3] विधीयमानत्वात् संज्ञां प्रति गुणभूतमज्ग्रहणम् । गुणभूतेषु च संख्याऽविवक्षिता भवति । तद्यथा । पशुना यजेतेति । ननु च संज्ञाया उपसर्जनत्वात् रूढसंबन्धिषु संज्ञिष्वेव प्राधान्यम् । तत्र युक्तैव[4] अविवक्षा संख्यायाः । सत्यम् । निर्देशे संज्ञिनां प्राधान्यं, विधीयमानत्वात् संज्ञायाः प्राधान्यं भवति । शुक्लं पटं कुरु श्वेतं वायव्यमालभेतेति । तत्राविवक्षितत्वे सङ्ख्यायाः औ[5] इ उ अपेहीति निपातसमुदायस्य अच्समुदायस्यैका प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा प्रसज्येत । कथं पुनः निपातसमुदायो निपातग्रहणेन गृह्यते । अजनुरोधात् अच्समुदायस्य चैकनिपातत्वाभावात् निपातसमुदायस्य गतिःस्यात् । अस्तु, जातिनिर्देशात् प्रत्येकमपि भविष्यति । यद्येवं लक्ष्येत कृतं स्यात् । अच्समुदाये तु संज्ञयाऽभिसम्बध्यमाने तयैवावयवानामपि कृतार्थत्वात् नास्त्यवयवेषु पुनः प्रवृत्तिः । तद्यथा समुदायैकाचो द्विर्वचने क्रियमाणे कृतार्थत्वात् समुदायस्य अवयवानां न भवति पुनर्द्विर्वचनं तथाऽविशेषेण संयोगसंज्ञायां पुनर्द्वयोर्भवति । यदि तर्हि समुदायाश्रयेण कार्येण अवयवाः कृतार्थाः तेषां प्रगृह्यत्वात् प्रत्यवयवं[6] प्रकृतिभावो भविष्यति । नास्त्यवयवेषु पुनः प्रकृतिभावः । समुदाये प्रकृतिभावस्य कृतार्थत्वात् । तेनान्त्यस्य

१ अप्रवृत्ति तदंत. २ लिगोपादानाश्चाथति दतविधेप्रवृत्तिर्न. ३ संज्ञाविधीयमानत्वात्. ४ युक्तैवाविक्षा. ५ इ उ अोहि. ६ प्रत्यवयवप्रक्रातिभावो.

यणादेशो न स्यात् । पूर्वयोराद्गुणयणादेशौ स्याताम् । कथं तर्हि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायां समुदायस्यार्थवत्त्वे वर्णेष्वर्थवत्सु अनेकेषु च अर्थवद्ग्रहणे प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायामक्रियमाणे वनं धनमिति प्रतिवर्णं विभक्त्युत्पत्तौ नलोपप्रसङ्गश्चोद्यते । अर्थवत्तायां तावत्[1] भिन्नार्थत्वात् यथायथं वर्णानामर्थाः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञानिमित्तत्वाय कल्पन्ते[2] । आनर्थक्येऽपि क्वचित् समुदायस्यापरिगृहीतत्वात् नैष्विदं समुदायस्य कार्यं विज्ञायते । तत्राश्रितसंख्यत्वात् निर्देश्यगुणभूतस्य **अज्ग्रहणस्य** विशेषण**मेकग्रहणे क्रियमाणमन्यत्र वर्णग्रहणेषु** गुणभूतेषु विशिष्टसंख्येषु विशिष्टसंख्येषु अनाश्रितसंङ्ख्यत्वं **जातेर्भवति** इति ज्ञापकम् । **किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्** । हलन्ताच्चेति हल्ग्रहणे गुणभूतस्य हलः सनः कित्त्वादतिदेशे न भवति संख्याविशेषस्य विवक्षेति । ननु चोक्तं न सामान्येन पौर्वापर्यमस्तीति । नेदं वचनम् । आर्धधातुके हि भिन्नार्थानां युगपदेकस्याः प्रकृते[3]रङ्गत्वमस्तीत्यसम्भवात् एकार्थानां च प्रत्ययानामर्थस्य चरितार्थत्वात् परदेशस्य व्याप्तत्वात् अनेकस्य प्रत्ययस्य परत्वसम्भवो नास्ति इत्यतः सामान्येन पौर्वापर्यं नास्तीत्युच्यते । यत्र तुल्यरूपः प्रत्ययो भवति, भवति तत्र जातेः परत्वम् । तद्यथा । एका प्रकृतिर्बहवश्च यञः इति दम्भेर्हल्ग्रहणस्य जातिविवक्षितत्वात् इक उत्तरत्वं न विरुध्यते । (महाभाष्य पृ. ७० प. २०—पृ. ७१ प. ३)

इह कस्मान्न भवति । आ एवं किल तत् । अनुबन्धनिवृत्तौ श्रुतिविशेषाभावात् । यदि किञ्चित् अनुबन्धकाले विशिष्टमर्थरूपं सम्बन्धित्वेन निर्ज्ञातं निवृत्तेऽपि अनुबन्धे तेनार्थेनानुबन्धसहचारिणा सानुबन्धकत्वमनुमीयते[4] । तत्रेषदर्थे सानुबन्धकस्य दृष्टो योग **आङीषदर्थे** उपसर्गस्य च सानुबन्धकस्य पाठात् **क्रियायोगोऽपि** सानुबन्धकस्य प्रतीयते । **आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्योरिति** च सानुबन्धक एव कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञायां प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते । अतोऽत्रानुबन्धनिवृत्तौ सत्यामपि अनुबन्धस्य तत्साहचर्यं[5] तैरेवार्थैरनुमीयते । **वाक्यस्मरणयोरङित्** । वाक्य-

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१ तावदभिन्नार्थ. २ कल्पन्ति. ३ प्रकृतेरंगभानवस्यसंभवात्. ४ अनुमायते. ५ तत्सहचारतेरिवार्थैरनुमीयते.

विषय आ एवं नु मन्यसे इति । पूर्वं विधिविषयः प्रतिषेधविषयो वा व्यवस्थितः । तस्यान्यथाकरणे इदं प्रयुज्यते—आ एवं नु मन्यसे नैवं पूर्वममंस्थाः संप्रति तु एवं मन्यसे इति पूर्ववाक्यविषयोऽयमाकारः प्रयुज्यते । अन्ये त्वाहुः । वाक्यप्र[1]करणे वाक्यावयवोऽत्र विवक्षित इति । अत्रानर्थकस्यैवाङोऽनुनासिकादेशवचनात् शुद्धस्यानर्थक्यं नोपपद्यते । **आ एवं किल तदिति** । स्मर्तव्यार्थविषयः पूर्वमाकारः प्रयुज्यते । ततः स्मृतेरुत्तरकालं आ एवं किल तदिति निर्वचनं क्रियते ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७१ प. ३—प. ७)

॥ ओत् ॥ १. १. २५

अनेकार्थतायां सत्यां नियतमनेन निपातसमाहारेण भवितव्यम् । अथार्थभेदो नास्ति व्यक्तमेकनिपातत्वम् । तत्र कथमेतत् विरुद्धमुभयमेकत्र संभवति इत्युच्यते । ईम् कम् सीम् इत्येवमादीनामानर्थक्यात् एकत्वे समाहारत्वे वा नित्यमर्थस्याप्रादुर्भावात् । [2]अर्थभेदाभेदनिवृत्ताववधिपरिच्छेदो न संभवति इति शक्यं मन्यते न प्रतिज्ञातुम् । ओ षु यातं मरुत इति । आ उ सु यातम् । तत्र निपात एकाजिति प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । अनाङिति [3]प्रतिषेधः । तत्र परत्वात् प्रतिषेधानां बलीयस्त्वात् अनाङिति प्रतिषेधेन भवितव्यम् । न[4]नु चाङः अन्यो विधिराश्रीयते भवति चात्रोकार आङोऽन्यः । अन्तादिवद्भावात् व्यपवर्गे नित्यं संनिहिते आङोऽयमन्य इत्यशक्यो व्यपदेष्टुम् । कथं तर्हि लूयते केदारेणेति कर्तुरेककर्मकत्वात् अकर्मकव्यपदेशं धातुर्लभते । इह [5]कर्मातिदेशे स्वाश्रयमेककर्मकत्वं कर्तुर्न निवर्तते । न चेह कर्माश्रयं किञ्चिदुच्यते । स्वाभाविकं चास्य कर्तुरेककर्मकत्वम् । तस्मात् तत्सम्बद्धस्य धा[6]त्वर्थस्यानाश्रीयमाणे कर्माश्रये युक्तो व्यपदेशः । तद्यथा । ब्राह्मणवदस्मिन् क्षत्रिये वर्तितव्यमिति स्वाभाविकस्य क्षत्रियत्वस्यानिवृत्तत्वात् ब्राह्मणाय देहीति भवति स्वाश्रयक्रियाविपर्ययैरभिसम्बन्धः । तथा ब्राह्मणको ग्राम आनीयतामिति संनिहितेऽपि तस्मिन् क्षत्रिये ब्राह्मणाश्रयस्याविधीयमानत्वात् तद्वतो ग्रामस्या-

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१ प्रकरणो. २ अथभिदाभदनिवृत्तोवधि. ३ प्रतिषेधात्. ४ ननु चाङ्ती अन्यो. ५ कर्मादिदेशे स्वाश्रयमकर्मक कर्तुर्न. ६ यस्त्वर्थस्यानाश्रीयमाणे.

नयनं भवति एव । इह त्वन्तादिवद्भावात् व्यपवर्गस्य नित्यसांनिध्यात् असत्तत्पर्युदासो विज्ञातः[1] । (महाभाष्य पृ. ७१ प. ८–प.१३)

एवमपि अगौः गौः समपद्यत गोऽभवत् इति अत्र प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्हि स्वं रूपं शब्दस्येति स्वग्रहणात् सिद्धरूपस्यैव संप्रत्यये रूपग्रहणं बहिरङ्गस्याप्यर्थस्य व्याकरणे रूपवत्संप्रत्ययार्थम् । तत्रानर्थकनिवृत्तौ अर्थपरिग्रहे सति **गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्ये संप्रत्ययात्** । गुणादागतः गौणः । मुखमिव मुख्यः । तत्र नेदं वचनम् । लौकिकोऽयं न्यायः परिगृह्यते । इहायं गोशब्दोऽसति द्रव्यलिङ्गसंख्याकर्मादिषु वृत्तो[2] बाह्यः स च कुत्सनादिभिः संबध्यते । पदान्तराभिधेयानां चार्थानां विशेष्यभावं विशेषणभावं वा प्रतिपद्यते । तत्रान्तरङ्गा एवापदप्रतिबद्धेऽर्थे संनिहिते युक्ता पदान्तरविषयस्य बहिरङ्गस्यार्थस्य व्यपेक्षा । गौरनूबन्ध्य[3] इत्यत्र वाहीकादिरर्थः पदान्तराभिधेयोऽसति पदान्तरप्रयोगे न तावत् प्रादुर्भूत इत्यसांनिध्यादशक्यमस्यापेक्षणं कर्तुमिति । नित्यानित्ययोः खल्वपि अर्थयोः संनिधावव्यभिचारित्वात् नित्यस्यार्थस्य युक्तः संप्रत्ययः । व्यभिचारी हि गोशब्दस्य वाहीकादिभिरभिसम्बन्धः । यस्मात् कस्यचित् वाहीकादिष्वविवक्षितमपि गोत्वं भवति । तथा येऽपि रूढसंबन्धाः क्रियागुणाः मौढ्यशौचादिविपरीताः[4] ते कदाचित् वाहीके विवक्षिता भवन्ति तैक्ष्ण्यपाटवादयः । तत्र विरोधिगुणविवक्षायां गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्यात्यन्तमप्रवृत्तिः । साधारणासाधारणयोश्च साधारणं गोशब्दस्य पदार्थस्यागोशब्देन प्रत्यायनं न्याय्यम् । वाहीके त्वनेकस्य गुणस्य समवायात् यस्य यस्यार्थस्य रूढसम्बन्धात् क्रियागुणास्तत्रोपलभ्यन्ते तद्वाचिनश्च शब्दस्य तत्रास्ति निवृत्तिरिति यस्य तद्गुणो वाहीको विवक्षितः स तद्गुणवृत्तिं शब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते । तथा च गौरश्वो हस्ती शकुनिरित्येवमादीनां प्रवृत्तेर्न शक्यमेतद्[5] वक्तुं गौरेवायमिति । तस्मात् गौरित्युक्तेऽन्तरङ्गोऽव्यभिचारात् तत्रैव च प्रतिनियतो योऽर्थस्तस्य सम्प्रत्ययो भवति । तस्मात् न वाहीकोऽनुबध्यते । **कथं तर्हि वाहीके वृद्ध्यात्त्वे भवतः**

१ विज्ञातु. २ वृत्तो बाह्यैः प्रयकुत्सानादिभिः सबध्यति. ३ गौरनुबन्ध्य. ४ मौद्यासौवादि. ५ न शक्यष्यतत्स्वछं.

गौस्तिष्ठति गामानयेति । अर्थाश्रय एतदेवं भवति । गौणमुख्ययोरर्थयोराश्रये प्रातिपदिकस्य सामान्यवृत्तेरयं विवेको न शक्यते निवारयितुं किमत्र गौणोऽर्थो न तु मुख्य इति । यद्यप्यत्र गौणस्यार्थस्य बीजमस्ति तत् तु अनाविर्भूतनिमित्तमस्य निवारणे । कस्मात् । सविभक्तिको हि शब्दः शब्दान्तरेण अर्थविवेकावधारणहेतुना यदा सम्बद्धो भवति तदा शब्दान्तरोपजनितविभागस्य गौणस्यार्थस्य परिच्छेदको भवति । असति च शब्दान्तरप्रयोगे मुख्य एवार्थः प्रतीयते । तस्मात् प्रातिपदिकार्थस्य सत्यपि अनेकार्थबीजसम्भवे व्यक्तभेदाभिधाने सामर्थ्याभावात् प्रातिपदिकाश्रयाणि कार्याणि श्रुतिमात्रमाश्रित्य प्रवर्तन्ते । अथवा पूर्वं तावत् अन्तरङ्गेण [1]साधारेणनाव्यभिचारिणा मुख्येनार्थेन प्रातिपदिकमभिसम्बध्यते । मुख्यार्थवृत्तादेव च विभक्तिरुत्पद्यते । अप्रादुर्भूतत्वाच्च अर्थान्तरस्य विभक्तौ [2]मुख्यार्थवृत्तेरेव शब्दस्य कार्याणि क्रियन्ते । सविभक्तिकस्तु मुख्यार्थवृत्तिः शब्दो नि[3]र्वृत्तः स्वकार्ये वाहीकादेश्च शब्दान्तरस्य भावे मुख्यार्थवृत्तिरेव अर्थान्तरं परिणीयते । तत्रार्थान्तराभिसम्बन्धिविरोधिनोऽर्था निवर्तन्ते क्रियागुणानां तु रूढिसम्बद्धानामविरोधित्वादवस्थानं भवति । तस्मात् वृद्ध्यात्त्वविधानकाले गौणस्यार्थस्य बहिरङ्गस्यानुपजातत्वात् गौ[4]णमुख्ययोर्नित्यमनुपसंप्राप्तनिमित्त एष न्यायो नैतं विषयमवगाहते । तस्मात् प्रतिद्वन्द्विनो अनुपसम्प्राप्तनिमित्तस्यार्थस्य संनिपातात् यद्येवं ज्ञापकः, विरोधिनिमित्ताभावात् अर्थो मुख्यव्यपदेशालम्भात् सम्बन्धिशब्दत्वाद्धि सति गौणे मुख्यव्यपदेशं लभते । अतो मुख्य[5]व्यपदेशाभावात् **शब्दाश्रयं कार्यं शब्दमात्रे** विधीयते । विरोध्यर्थाभावाच्च गौणमुख्यव्यपेक्षायां [6]सत्यां **शब्दाश्रयत्वं वृद्ध्यात्त्वयोरिति ॥**

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७१ प. १४–प. २१)

॥ उञः ऊँ ॥ १. १. १७.–१८

उञ इत्येकयोगः । आदेशविकल्पे [7]शाकल्यश्रुतिः उपयुक्तार्थत्वात् यत्रादेशो नास्ति तस्मिन् विषये निवृत्तेरेकाजनाङिति प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा विज्ञायते । योग-

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१ साधारणेन वाभिचारिणा. २ मुख्यार्थवृत्तेरिव. ३ निवृत्तास्यकार्ये. ४ गौणमुरुययोनित्यमुपसप्राप्र. ५ व्यपदेश त् अशबाश्रयं. ६ सदा. ७ साकल्यश्रुतिरुपयुक्तार्थत्वात्.

विभागे तु आदेशस्याप्यनपेक्षितत्वात् शाकल्यश्रुत्या संज्ञाविकल्पो विज्ञायते। उञः संज्ञाविकल्पे चापि विज्ञायमाने यद्यनुनासिक [1]आदेशो वावचनेनासंयुक्तो विधीयते अत्यन्तं स्थानिनो निवृत्तिः प्रतीयेत । तद्यथा । अस्तेर्भूरिति । योगविभागात्तु प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाविकल्पे निर्ज्ञाते वावचनेन संयुक्ते आदेशे उच्यमाने पूर्वयोगे रूपद्वयं भवति । **उ इति च विति च** । उत्तरस्मिंश्च योगे नित्यमादेशे प्राप्ते विभाषाश्रुतिसंयोगात् द्वे रूपे भवतः । ऊँ इति च । एवं योगद्वये त्रीणि रूपाणि सिद्धानि भवन्ति। येषां तु ग्रन्थः—**किमर्थो योगविभागः** । शाकल्यविभाषा मा भूदिति—तेषां वावचनमन्तरेण निरनुनासिकस्यापाकृतत्वात् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा नास्तीति कृतप्रकृतिभावस्य श्रवणं न स्यात् ' उ इति ' इति । आदेशापेक्षायां च सत्यां संज्ञिषु रूढसम्बन्धेषु [2]गुणभूता अपि संज्ञा वैगुण्यात् स्वरूपमात्रपदार्थिकैव न संज्ञिनां सम्बन्धमुपगच्छतीति ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७१. प २२–पृ. ७२ प. १३)

ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे ॥ १. १. १९ ॥

इह संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधात् [3]सप्तमीशब्देन प्रत्ययमात्रमुच्यते । तत्र यदा तावदीकारोकारयोः प्राधान्यं सप्तम्या विशेषणभावस्तदैवं विज्ञायते ईकारोकारौ या सप्तमी तस्याः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा भवति । यदा सप्तम्याः प्राधान्यमीकारोकारयोर्विशेषणभावस्तदाऽपि ईकारोकारान्तायाः सप्तम्या अभावात् [4]तदन्तविधेरत्राप्रवृत्तिः । तत्रार्थग्रहणमन्तरेण यत्रैव सप्तमी श्रूयेत तत्र प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा स्यात् सरसी इति । **लुप्तायां तु सप्तम्यां** संज्ञिनोऽभावात् अविषया संज्ञा नैव प्रवर्तते। सत्यां च प्रगृह्यसंधानकल्पनायां सप्तमीसहचरितेऽर्थे यद्वर्तते तस्य सामर्थ्याभावादपि संप्रत्ययः स्यात् । अर्थग्रहणात्तु सोमो गौरी अधि श्रितः ' इति निवृत्तप्रत्ययस्यापि सप्तम्यर्थवृत्तेः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा सिद्धा भवति । **नात्र सप्तमी लुप्यते । पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घत्वं** च [5]**बाधित्वा आङ्भावश्च आम्भावश्च प्रसज्येते** । एवं तर्हि सर्वत्रैव लुकः प्रवृत्तिः । तत्र

१ आदेशो वावयवेन संयुक्तो. २ गुणभूतार्थसंज्ञापि गुण्यात्. ३ सप्तमीशब्देनाप्रथम. ४ तदन्तविधेरत्राप्रवृत्तितत्रार्थ. ५ बाधित्वा अङ्गावश्च आभावश्च.

प्रधानासंभवे सप्तम्यर्थसंधारणात्[1] ईकारोकारान्तस्य शब्दरूपस्य ग्रहणं विज्ञास्यामः । **नेदं वचनाल्लभ्यम्** । प्रधानकल्पनाविषये[2] वचनाद् गुणतः कल्पयितुमलभ्यम् । कथम् । इह हलन्तात् या सप्तमी उत्पन्ना सा ङ्याङियाजीकाराणामुपसंख्यानमिति ईकारे विहिते सरसी इति ईकारो या सप्तमी इति मुख्या कल्पना संभवति । तत्संभवे च निवृत्तविभक्तिकेषु[3] न प्रवर्तते प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा **सोमो गौरी अधि श्रित इति । तत्रापि सरसी यदि** । नार्थोऽर्थग्रहणेन । सरसीशब्दादुत्पन्नायाः सप्तम्या लुकि कृते मुख्या कल्पना त्रितयाभावात् । ईकारान्तं प्रत्ययलक्षणेन सप्तम्यन्तं तत्र प्रत्ययस्यात्यन्तमसंभवात् नेदं प्रत्ययग्रहणम् । न चेत् प्रत्ययग्रहणं सप्तम्यर्थवृत्तेः ईकारोकाराभ्यां तदन्तविधिर्भविष्यति । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन वा सप्तम्याः परतो यौ ईकारोकारौ सप्तमीसहचरितौ[4] तौ इति ।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७२ प. १९--पृ. ७३ प. ५)

ज्ञापकं स्यात् तदन्तत्वे । ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यमित्यत्र तृतीयचतुर्थयोः पक्षयोः संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे इत्यनाश्रीयमाणे[5] आश्रीयमाणे वा तदन्तत्वग्रहणे क्रियमाणे तस्मिंस्तदन्तत्वे सति ज्ञापकमेतत् भवति प्रत्ययलक्षणाभावस्य । स्यात् तदन्तत्वे इति अपेक्ष्योपदर्शनमेतत् । यदि तर्हि **प्रत्ययलक्षणं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां ज्ञापकं न** भवति कोऽस्य सूत्रस्यावकाशः । अथ प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां[6] प्रत्ययलक्षणं भवति **किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्** । तस्मादयमारब्धव्यो योगोऽन्यत्र प्रत्ययलक्षणनिवृत्तिज्ञापनेन कृतार्थः स्वविषये विधास्यत एव प्रगृह्यसंज्ञामिति सत्येव वा प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां प्रत्ययलक्षणे ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७३ प. ६– प. ९)

मा वा पूर्वपदस्य भूत् । (**वाप्यामश्वो**) वाप्यश्वः, **नद्यामातिः** (**नद्यातिः**) इति । संज्ञायामिति समासे सप्तम्यर्थवृत्तेरीकारान्तस्य प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । अर्थग्रहणान्न भवति । **अथ क्रियमाणेप्यर्थग्रहणे कस्मादेवात्र न**

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१ सप्तम्यर्थसंवाणा ईकारोकारान्तस्य. २ कल्पनविषयेदणतः. ३ विभक्तिलेषुन. प्रवृत्तिरे. ४ सहचरितौ यावितिः. ५ इत्वनाश्रियमाणे व्याश्रीयमाणे वासतत्व. ६ प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाया प्रत्ययलक्षणौ.

भवति । द्विविधायामपि वृत्तौ । जहत्स्वार्थायां तावत् कर्तृकर्मकार्थसमवायिनीनां क्रियाणां द्रव्यान्तरसमवेता या शक्तिरुपकारः प्रत्याश्रीयते तस्यानिवृत्तत्वात् । अजहत्स्वार्थायामपि वृत्तौ उपसर्जनीभूतस्वार्थेषु विशेषणेषु संबद्धत्वाद[1]भिसंधीयमानस्यार्थस्य तिरोभूते संबन्धे यद्युपसर्जनं प्रधानार्थे न वर्तेत प्रधानोपसर्जनयोरत्यन्तमुपकाराभावात् गुणोपादानमनर्थकं स्यात् । तस्मादुपसर्जनीभूतस्वार्थानि विशेषणानि प्रधानार्थोपादानानि व्यर्थानि संपद्यन्ते । तत्र मृत्पिण्डे पांशूदकवत् अनिवार्यमाणभेदस्य संमूर्च्छितस्वार्थात्मनः एकार्थीभावात् पूर्वमुपलब्धविवेकत्वात् समुदायत्वेनानुमीयमानस्याभिधानं भवति । तत्र सप्तम्यर्थे इत्यर्थग्रहणेन समुदायार्थो नाभिधीयते । अथवा पञ्चके प्रातिपदिकार्थे संदिग्धानामनाविर्भूतानां पञ्चानाम[2]र्थानां द्योतिकासु अभिहितार्थानुवादिनीषु, त्रिके वा प्रातिपदिकार्थे संख्याकर्माद्यभिधायिनीषु विभक्तिषु आश्रितसंख्याविशेषस्यार्थसमूहस्य अभिधानात् सप्तम्यर्थग्रहणेन संख्याविशेषयुक्तोऽर्थराशिरभिधीयते । समासे तु संख्याविशेषनिवृत्तावकृ[3]तस्वत्वात् तस्यार्थस्य न्यूनार्थवृत्तेः सप्तम्यर्थस्य न भवति सम्प्रत्ययः । तस्मादर्थग्रहणं संव्यवहारायोपात्तस्य परिकल्पितस्य शास्त्रीयस्यार्थस्य प्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । यदि तर्हि निवृत्तसंख्याविशेषः सप्तम्यर्थोऽत्र न गृह्येत लुक्यपि कृते संख्याविशेषस्यासंप्रत्ययात् ‘ सोमो गौरी अधि श्रितः ’ इति प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति । तस्मान्नेदं शक्यं वक्तुं विशिष्टलिङ्गसङ्ख्याभिधानार्थं ग्रहणम् इति । एवं वाप्यश्वो नद्यातिरिति अत्र समुदायार्थोऽभिधीयते । तत्राधिकरणसंज्ञानिमित्तगुणाश्रयस्य द्रव्यस्य न्यग्भूतशक्तेरुपात्ताधेयविशेषत्वात् द्रव्यविशेषसमवायिना विशिष्टरूपप्रादुर्भावनिमित्तेन गुणेनागृहीतस्या[4]धेयस्यापि भावे अव्यपदेश्यकल्पः सप्तम्यर्थ आधेयविशेषात्मानमनुगतोऽनुमीयते । अव्यतिकीर्णेनार्थान्तरेण मुख्ये सप्तम्यर्थे विद्यमानेन एवंभूतस्य सप्तम्यर्थस्य परिकल्पः नानु[5]क्तः । तत्र यथैव जात्याख्यायामिति आख्याग्रहणात् द्रव्यनिर्मुक्ताया जातेरुपादानं विज्ञायते, एवमिहार्थग्रहणात् अनुपात्ताधेयः स्वात्मनि अवस्थितः सप्तम्यर्थो गृह्यत इति । अथवा सप्तम्यर्थे इति अर्थग्रहणात् लौकिकोऽर्थः परि-

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१ संबंधत्वादभि°. २ अनाविर्भूतानां यवमार्थानां. ३ अक्षतस्वत्वात्. ४ °स्वाश्रयस्यापि भावे. ५ नानुक्ता.

गृह्यते । कुत एतत् । यो हि समुदायार्थः स शास्त्रे त्वन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यामनुमेयः साधुत्वं प्रति निमित्तत्वेनोपादीयमानः प्रकृतिप्रत्ययपूर्वपदोत्तरपदार्थानां समुदायः । लोके तु वर्णवदेषामवयवानामानर्थक्यम् । परिनिष्पन्नस्तु समुदायः स्वार्थद[1]ं द्रव्यतोऽसंभिन्नमात्मानं प्रत्याययति । अथवा समुदायार्थ इति समुदायार्थप्रतिपत्तिहेतुः । समुदायः प्रातिपदिकार्यतामुपगतो निवृत्तव्यतिरेकभावः सत्त्वभूतो व्यपदिश्यते इति । तत्र सतम्यर्थग्रहणं यथाभूतस्य ग्रहणम्, इह च न तथाभूतो भवतीति न दोषो भवतीति ॥ (महाभाष्य पृ. ७३ प.१०-प.१८)

॥ दाधा घ्वदाप् ॥ १. १. २० ॥

इह इत्थं अङ्गीकृतरूपाणां दाधां घुसंज्ञा क्रियते । तच्च पुनरेषां रूपमवयवात्मकं द[2]कारधकारवताम् । आत्वं त्वेषामुच्चारणाश्रयम् । यथा पाघ्राध्मास्थाम्नानामात्वभूतत्वेऽपि सति दकारधकारयोरभावात्, यथैव च दीङ्दृङोः धीङ्धृङोश्च दकारधकारयोरपि भावात् शुद्धरूपत्वाभावात् दाधारूपविरूपत्वे घुसंज्ञा न भवति। एवं देङ्धेटोरपि शित्यात्वाभावात् दाधारूपविरूपत्वे सति घुसंज्ञा न स्यात् इत्यतः पठति—**घुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतिग्रहणं शिदर्थमिति** । विकृतार्थमित्येतत्तु न पठति । एवं मन्यते—लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तपरिभाषायाः शेषत्वात् । एष हि अस्याः शेषो 'गामादाग्रहणेष्वविशेषः' इति ॥ **भारद्वाजीयाः** पुनः अनुपदेशे आत्वभूतयोरप्येतयोरतोऽन्यैरौपदेशिकात्वसमवेतैर्दाधारूपैर्घुसंज्ञाया अपहृतत्वादप्राप्तिं मन्यमानाः **पठन्ति—शिद्विकृतार्थमिति** । तेषामयमभिप्रायः । प्रकृतिभूतयोरदाधारूपत्वात् विकारभूतयोरनौपदेशिकत्वात् इति परिभाषाशेषश्चैषां नास्ति । अस्त्येव चार्थवत्त्वद्योतनार्थ उपक्षेपः । प्रकृतिग्रहणे तु सति विकाराणां स्थानिवदादेश इति वचनात् घुसंज्ञा भविष्यति । इतर आह—**किं प्रयोजनमिति** । अस्यायमभिप्रायः । अनुक्रियमाणक्रियाप्रणिददातियच्छतिदयतिदधातिधयतीनामनुकरणशब्दैः प्रतिषेधशब्दप्रातिपदिकसंज्ञैः प्रतिलब्धपूर्वाविभक्तिपदार्थकेनार्थवत्त्वात् अर्थवदिति शितोत्पत्तिविध्यनाश्रयणात् अशित्येव विहितात्वैः प्रागेव भिश्च अ[3]शिति इति

1 स्वार्थहं सुव्युनोसंभिन्नं. 2 दकारवतां माधवता त्वेषामुच्चारणात् तश्रयथवा प्राघ्रा°.
3 असिशिताति शितोत्पत्राद्विधिहिनुनश्रयणाद्विवि एव विहितात्वैः.

विभक्त्युत्पत्तेः अनैमित्तिके आत्त्वे, शिति च प्रतिषेधे विहितैकशेषैरुपदेशादिहार्थं प्रकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यतया चोदयति—कथं प्रकृतीनां घुसंज्ञा स्यात्। [1]प्रकृतिषु च लब्धघुसंज्ञासु प्रकृत्यन्वयत्वात् विकाराणां स्थानिवद्भावशास्त्राद्वा विकाराणामपि यथा स्यादिति। विकाराणां तु प्रकृतावपि स्यात्, विकारधर्मेण प्रकृतीनामनन्वयादिति। तत्र प्रकृतिग्रहणमन्तरेणापि तासामेव स्वरूपग्रहणात् घुसंज्ञासिद्धौ प्रकृतिचोदनानुपपत्तिः। अयं तु [2]दाधर्तीत्येवमादिषु आर्धधातुकप्रत्ययपराणां प्रतिलब्धात्मनां स्वरूपं दाधा इत्यनेनानुकरणशब्देन प्रत्याख्यातं मत्वा, तथा कृत्सु कारितं मत्वा शब्दस्यावसायसामर्थ्यं घुसंज्ञाशास्त्रस्य संपादयिष्यन् प्रकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यतया चोदयति। न च प्रकृतिग्रहणमिति प्रकृतिशब्दस्यैव ग्रहणं कर्तव्यमिति विज्ञायते। किं तर्हि, आत्वभूतानां याः प्रकृतयस्तासामेव स्वरूपतो ग्रहणं [3]तद्विकारापकर्षपूर्वकं कर्तव्यमिति। चूर्णिकारस्तु विकाराणां ग्रहणानपकर्षेण प्रकृतिग्रहणं चोदितं मन्यमानो विकारानपकर्षेण प्रकृतीनां स्वरूपतो ग्रहणमशक्यं प्रकृतिविकारस्याभावप्रसङ्गादिति प्रकृतिशब्दस्वरूपमेव कर्तव्यतया चोदितमिति परिकल्प्य विवृणोति। इतर एकशेषोपदेशाश्रये [4]प्रकृतिप्रकृतेश्चोदनानर्थक्यं प्रवक्ष्यन्नाह—किं प्रयोजनमिति। इतरो विकारनिर्देशे प्रकृतिग्रहणमलभ्यं (अप-) कर्षनिर्देशक्षतेरित्याह—**आत्त्वभूतानामिति**। आत्त्वं भूताः आत्त्वभूताः। ननु च भवतेरकर्मकत्वात् आत्त्वं भूता इत्येतन्नोपपद्यते। न चास्य भवतेः प्राप्तिवचनत्वात् [5]सकर्मकत्वोपपत्तिः। अस्ति पुनरयं भवतिः क्वचित् प्राप्तिवचनः। अस्तीत्याह। तद्यथा। एतेन वै भरद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं दैवोदासिं समनह्यत्। स राष्ट्रमभवत्। यं कामयेत राष्ट्रियमयं राष्ट्रं स्यादिति तमेतेन संनह्येत्। राष्ट्रमेव भवतीति। तथा महद्भूतश्चन्द्रमाः महत्त्वं प्राप्त इत्युच्यते। तथा आत्त्वेन वा भूताः आत्त्वभूताः आत्त्वेन प्राप्ता इत्यर्थः। **ननु भूयिष्ठानि घुकार्याणि आर्धधातुके** उच्यन्ते। **तत्र चैते आत्त्वभूताः**। [6]कार्यानुषङ्गेणैषामनार्धधातुके युक्तत्वात्। न च कार्यानुषङ्गेण परिकल्पनं प्रकृति-

१ प्राकृतिषूपलब्धघुसंज्ञासु प्रकृत्याश्रयत्वाद्विकाराणां°. २ अयं तुदात्तेव. ३ तद्विकारायकर्मपूर्वकं.. ४ प्रकृतिप्रकृतियो चोदना... ५ सकर्मत्वोपपत्तेः। ६ कार्यतुषमेषामनार्धधातुकेत्युत्वान्न च ...

ग्रहणस्य युक्तम् । न हि सप्तदशसु आदेशेषु स्थानेयोगत्वं प्रयोजयत् षष्ठ्या अर्थान्तरकल्पनं इडर्थं युक्तम् । यदपि च तत्कार्यानुषङ्गं तदपि णत्वविधौ चार्थस्य प्रकृतिग्रहणस्यावश्यकर्तव्यस्य पुरस्तादपकर्षात् सिध्यति । अतोऽनर्थकं प्रकृतिग्रहणमिति । यथा एषामर्थान्तरपरिकल्पने सति भूयिष्ठानामुपरोधेन, एवं प्रकृतिग्रहणे सति । अतोऽयमसमाधिरित्याह—**शिदर्थम्** । **शित्यात्त्वं प्रतिषिध्यते** । दाधाप्रकृत्योर्देङ्धेटोर्दाधारूपाभावात् असति घुत्वे घुकार्यं प्रणिदयते प्रणिधयतीति नेर्णत्वं न प्राप्नोति । **भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति** । विकृतार्थमिति तेषामधिकम् । **प्रणिदाता प्रणिधाता** । देङ्धेटोरेते रूपे । प्रतिपदोक्तमाकारान्तत्वमत्र नास्तीत्याह—**लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोरिति** । कात्यायनस्तु गामादाग्रहणेष्वविशेष इत्यनेन समर्थयन्नेतदुक्तवान्[१] ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७३ प. १९–पृ. ७४ प. ४)

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपीति । एवं मन्यते—दाधासंनिधाने प्रकृतिग्रहणं श्रूयते । तत्र सामानाधिकरण्येन वा सम्बन्धः स्यात् । दाधाप्रकृतिभूतस्य घुसंज्ञाभूतस्य घुसंज्ञा भवतु, सा तु विकृतिभूतानां मा भूत् । दाधां चानेवंभूतानां (मा) भूत् इति च कल्प्यमाना घुसंज्ञा सर्वविषया सती विशिष्टविषया क्रियमाणोपरुद्धा भवति । तस्मान्नैवं शक्यं विज्ञातुम्[२] । कथं तर्हि । द्वैतमुच्यते । सामानाधिकरण्यकल्पनायां दाधाश्रुतेरपरार्थत्वादनुग्रहः । पारार्थ्यात्तु प्रकृतिग्रहणस्योपरोधः । षष्ठ्यर्थात्तु दाधाश्रुतेः परार्थत्वानुपरोधः । प्रकृतिश्रुतेरनुग्रह इति तुल्यमिति तुल्यबलवत्त्वाद्विचारः । ननु च दाधाप्रकृतयः इत्यस्मिन् निर्देशे बहुवचनेन न भवितव्यम् । दाधामित्येतेनैव प्रकृतिबहुत्वस्य गतत्वात् । यथा ‘ सूर्यं चक्षुर्गमयतात् ’ ‘ उरो वा पद्भिराहते ’ इति । न वाऽऽदेशभेदेऽपि प्रकृतिभेदात् । स्यादेवात्र एकत्वे बहुवचननिर्देशः यथादेशं प्रकृतिभेदप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । **नैवं विज्ञायते** इत्यत्रायमभिप्रायः । चोदनेयं सती बहुकरा भवति इतरथा त्वन्यतरोपरोध इति । ननु

१ समर्थत्वान्नैतदुक्तवान् । २ तस्मानैव शक्य विज्ञातव्यम् ।

चैवमपि सति प्रकृतिमात्रस्य् स्यात्। न प्रकृतेः साकाङ्क्षत्वात् अन्यस्य च विकारस्यानिर्देशाद् दाधोमत्र या प्रकृतिरिति विज्ञायते।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७४ प. ५--प. १०)

ततो वक्ष्यामि दाधा घु अदाप् अर्थे इति। ननु दाधामर्थवत्त्वादेवानर्थकानामभावाद्विशेषणानर्थक्यम्। अनुवृत्तिसामर्थ्यात् प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमर्थग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते। अर्थश्च घुसंज्ञो भवतीत्यर्थमात्रस्य च घुसंज्ञाप्रसङ्गो दाधामेव घुसंज्ञानिर्देशादेव योऽर्थस्तस्य संबन्धो भविष्यति। अर्थे चासम्भवात् तत्प्रत्यायकानां सम्बन्धो विज्ञास्यते। प्र[1]कृतिविकारयोश्चासावर्थ इति सर्वस्य भविष्यति। अथवा सप्तमीनिर्दिष्टमेवानुवर्ततेऽर्थे इति। अर्थे च यो वर्तते स च घुसंज्ञ इति। से[2]वचनस्य चार्थे वर्तमानस्य संज्ञाप्रसङ्गः। दाधा अनन्तरनिर्दिष्टाः सम्बध्यन्ते। इतरः सिद्धमिष्टमनिष्टमपि प्राप्नोतीत्याह—**नैवं शक्यमिति। शिदर्थेन तावन्नार्थः .... अवश्यं तत्रे**त्याह। भवति कृत्वापि इह प्रकृतिग्रहणं णत्वे पुनः कर्तव्यं तदेव चोभयकारि भविष्यति। मा इत्येवंभूते विधीयमानं मेशब्दे णत्वं न प्राप्नोति इति। **तत्र प्रकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्। तत् पुरस्तादपकृक्ष्यते घुप्रकृतावि**ति। तदेव च मा इत्येतेन संभन्त्स्यते इति। इतरो णत्वशास्त्रगते प्रकृतिग्रहणे दोषमाह—**प्रनिमिनोति प्रनिमीनाति इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति इति**। एते अपि माप्रकृती भवतो मीनातिमिनोतिदीङां ल्यपि च इत्यात्त्वस्य विधानात्। इतरः स्वमुखेनैव प्रतिपादयिष्यन्नाह—**अथाऽक्रियमाणेऽपि प्रकृतिग्रहणे** इति। यमेवार्थमत्र णत्वाभावे समाधिं वक्ष्यति प्रनिमाता प्रनिमातुमिति स एव मेप्रकृतिग्रहणेऽपि सति भवतीति समाधिमाह—**आकारान्तस्य ङितो ग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते**। इतरः स्वमुखेनैव प्रतिपाद्याह—**य[3]थैव तह्यक्रियमाणे** इति॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७४ प. ११-प. २२)

समानशब्दानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। एवं मन्यते। दृङ्धृङोः वृद्धौ क्रियमाणायामाकारे सति दा[4]धाशब्दौ निर्वर्त्येते। रेफश्चायं षष्ठीप्रकरणे श्रुता

१ प्रकृतिविकरणयोश्चासावर्थ इति। २ सवनस्य चार्थे. ३ यथैवाक्रियमाणे इति. ४ दाधाशब्दो निवर्तते.

याऽङ्गस्येति षष्ठी, संनिधानात् अङ्गप्र[1]करणगता या उरण् रपर इति एष चाङ्गस्यैव ऋस्थाने योऽण् रपरतया विद्यमान आगमभूत: आगमानामपि ग्रहणेन ग्रहणात् अर्थवत्त्वमङ्गस्य न विहन्तीत्यर्थवद्ग्रहणे एव समानशब्दप्रतिषेधे इदमुच्यते । [2]अभक्तपरादित्वयो: रेफेणार्थवत्त्वस्याविशेषात् । अथवा रूपग्रहणानुमितस्यार्थवद्ग्रहणस्य शास्त्रे बहुप्रकारत्वख्यापनार्थं प्रतिपादयति [3]प्रनिरयं रूपव्यपेक्षः ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७४ प. २३–२५)

समानशब्दाप्रतिषेधः । उक्तमेतत् स्वं रूपं शब्दस्येति स्वरूपग्रहणाद्यात्मक: शास्त्रे शब्दो व्याप्रियते रूपात्मकोऽर्थात्मकश्चेति । तस्मात् दाधामर्थवतामत्र घुसंज्ञा । दारिधार्योश्च दाधाशब्दौ अनर्थकौ दाधाशब्दयोरर्थवत्त्वात् । ननु चागमास्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते । स्यादेतदेवं यद्ययं रेफो दा-(धा-) शब्दस्यागमः स्यात् । कस्य तर्हि । ऋकारस्य अण् रपरो भवति । अभक्तपरादिपक्षौ तु नैव स्त इति न तत्र प्रतिविधीयते ॥ (महाभाष्य पृ. ७४ प. २६–२८)

अनुपसर्गाद्वा इति अयमिदानीमनर्थकस्यापि सतो दाशब्दस्य घुसंज्ञामाश्रित्य परिहारस्तमाह––अस्त्यस्य घुसंज्ञा । तत्प्रकृतस्य तु का[4]र्यस्य भावात् दोष: । न हि संज्ञामात्रं दोषाय । घुमादिषु हि नेरुप[5]सर्गेति णत्वं विधीयते । क्रियायोगे चोपसर्गसंज्ञा दाशब्दश्च क्रियावचनः। यं च प्रति गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञा स घुसंज्ञो न भवति । यस्य च संज्ञा त[6]स्य क्रियाभिन्नत्वात् तं प्रति उपसर्गसंज्ञा नास्तीति णत्वस्याभाव: । इतरो यद्येवमानर्थक्यादनुपसर्गाद्वा इति निवृत्तिं मन्यसे इष्टेऽपि ते विषये घुसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति इत्याह । **इहापि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति । अत्रापि** हि दा[7]प्शब्दस्यार्थवत्त्वमभिमतमेवं च प्रक्रियायोगः । न दाशब्दस्यार्थवत्त्वं न चापि प्र–क्रियायोग इत्येकपरिहारेणोभयोर्निवृत्तिं करोति स तस्य व्यतिरेककरो भवतीति न तस्योपचयेऽपचये वा सति

१ प्रकरणगतया यस्येति उरण्रपरत्वेपि चाष वाङ्गस्येव तस्थाने. २ स्वभक्त. ३ प्रणिरयं रूपापेक्षः. ४ कार्यंयाभावात्. ५ धुर्दिषु हि मेभेरुपसर्गाति. ६ तस्य क्रियान्वित्वात्तं प्राति. ७ दापूशब्दस्यार्थवत्त्वामतमेव च प्रक्रिया.

व्यपदेशव्यावृत्तिर्भवति । तद्यथा लोके लब्धदेवदत्तव्यपदेशहानं (न) भवति । तथा यक्सनोः प्रतिलब्धार्धधातुकव्यपदेशयोः प्रत्ययवशादिकारादि[1] अवयवान्तरमुपजायते इकारे वा सनो विगते नार्धधातुकव्यपदेशनिवृत्तिर्भवति । यदि हि स्यात् लविता पिपठिषिता..... (महाभाष्य पृ. ७५ प. १–४)

न वाऽर्थवतो ह्यागम इति । एतदुक्तं भवति । यथा ह्यस्य प्रतिलब्धव्यपदेशस्य प्रत्ययवशात्[2] सति गुणे दावार्धधातुकनिमित्तो न स्यात्, एवमिहापि दाधोः[3] प्रतिलब्धघुव्यपदेशयोः प्रत्ययवशात् पकारेऽवयवान्तरे लोकशास्त्रयोरिवाव्यतिरेककरे उपजाते विगते वा प्रणिदयतीति[4] घुसंज्ञाव्यपदेशहानं न भवति । तत्रैवं सति दाधोः प्रतिलब्धघुसंज्ञयोरव्यतिरेककरे अवयवान्तरदकारोपजनेपि निवृत्तघुव्यपदेशयोः परत उपसर्गस्थादिदमुच्यते अर्थवत इति । अनर्थकस्यापि तु लब्धव्यपदेशस्यावयवान्तर उपजायमानेऽव्यतिरेककरे व्यपदेशहानं न भवति । तथाहि । आर्धधातुकनिमित्तो गुणो भवति वृद्धिर्भवतीति रेफशिरसौ अकाराकारौ भवत इति । तथा दापयतिमुखेनेदं प्रस्तुतमिति अर्थवतो ह्यागम इत्युच्यते । लब्धव्यपदेशस्यापचयेऽपि स्वव्यपदेशहानं न भवति । तथाहि आद्यन्तमध्यानामपि शब्दानां स्वव्यपदेशः ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७५ प. ५–)

॥ तरप्तमपौ घः ॥ १. १. २२ ॥

इहानुबन्धत्वात् पितृस्मृतिविषयावेव तरप्तमपाविति अनुकरणम् । तरप्तमपाविति अनुकरणानुकरणोऽयम् । दर्शनद्वयं चानुबन्धेषु । अनुबन्धत्वेऽनुकरण एव क्रियते । कार्यं केवलमनुक्रियमाणं प्रतिपद्यते । अन्ये मन्यन्ते । तद्धर्म एवायमनुकरणैः क्रियते । सर्वथा भूतपूर्वगतिरनुबन्ध इति इहापि नदीतर इति स्मर्तुं शक्यते । तस्माद् घसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । अत्र द्वौ परिहारौ संभवतः । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोरिति

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१ इकरादिकारादिकारवयवान्तर... २ ‘ प्रत्ययवशात् ’ इत्यस्यानन्तरं ‘ सति गुणे.... स्वव्यपदेशः ’ इति सार्धपङ्क्त्यष्टकात्मको भागो लेखकप्रमादादाह्निकस्यास्यान्ते लिखित उपलभ्यते । तदनन्तरं चावशिष्टस्य प्रस्तुतसूत्रभागस्य तथैवानन्तरसूत्रस्योपरि नैव कापि व्याख्योपलभ्यते । ३ दाधौ प्रति लब्ध.... ४ प्रतिनिदयति इति.

च साहचर्यं चास्य गोर्द्वितीयेनार्थ इति तमपोऽत्यन्तादृष्टापचारस्य **प्रकर्षार्थीयस्तमप्शब्दो युक्त इति । तत्र साहचर्यमनाश्रितम्** । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तत्वं[1] **तु न संभवति । न हि लक्षणं तरबित्यस्य प्रतिपादकम् । कस्य तर्हि । तरप्शब्दस्य । प्रतिपदोक्तश्चायं शब्दः । तस्मान्नेद** शास्त्र[2]रूपं न प्रयोगरूपम् । निर्देशान्तरमेवेदमिति ।।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७९ प ११–१३)

परिहारान्तरमुपादत्ते । **घसंज्ञायां नदीतरेऽप्रतिषेधः** । न प्रतिषेधनं कर्तव्यम् । प्रतिषेधश्च प्रतिषेधनमिति क्रियारूपेणाश्रितो नञा संबध्यते । भाष्यकारस्तु द्रव्यभूतमाश्रित्य विवृणोति । **अनर्थकः प्रतिषेधोऽप्रतिषेध इति ।** प्रतिषेधोऽप्ययं कार्यस्याकरणात् न प्रतिषेध इति व्यपदिश्यते । प्रतिषेधमन्तरेण सिद्धत्वात् ।।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७९ प. १४–१५)

तरब्ग्रहणं ह्यौपदेशिकम् । [3]उपदेशे प्रयुक्तं, उपदेशे वा भवम् । शास्त्रे यस्तरप्शब्दः स गृह्यते इत्यवयवार्थे एतद् व्याचष्टे शब्दचारिणोऽनुबन्धनार्थस्य संबन्धिन इति । स चानुबन्धो यत्र समानशब्दत्वं तत्रार्थमन्यद्वा ब्रुवन् निमित्तमुपलक्षयति । यत्र तु नास्ति समानशब्दत्वं तत्र शब्दमेव प्रतिपादयति । **यत्रास्यैतद् रूपं** भवति अनुबन्धसहितमिति । अथ रूपावतरणं च श्रुतिसम्बन्धे भवतीति प्रयोगोऽभिसमीक्ष्यते । तत्र योऽव्यभिचारी नित्यः [4]प्रथममर्थप्रयुक्तः स आश्रयितव्य इत्याह—**[5]रूपनिग्रहश्च** (शब्दस्य) **नान्तरेण लौकिकं प्रयोगमिति** । एष न्यायः । [6]सत्यमनुबन्धा लौकिके प्रयोगे प्रवर्तेरन् , तत्र न कार्या लौकिकाः प्रयोगा इति लौकिकानुबन्धव्यवहारस्य निवृत्तत्वात् नायं तरप्शब्दः । कस्तर्हि तरप्शब्द इति । लौकिकात् प्रयोगान्निवृत्ता [7]अन्यं गुणभूतं **द्वितीयं प्रयोगमुपास्महे**[8] । **कश्चासौ । उपदेशो**

१ प्रत्तिपदोक्तयात्वं तु । २ शस्त्रं रूपं. ३ उपदेशप्रयुक्तं. ४ प्रथनमर्थ ... ५ रूपनिग्रहश्च. ६ सत्यनुबंलौकिके. ७ अनित्यं. ८ द्वितीयः प्रयोग उपास्यते इति पाठो मुद्रितमहाभाष्यग्रन्थेषु सर्वत्र दृश्यते ।

नाम । **उपदेश अयं**[1] **न तरप्शब्दः इति** । न लौकिके प्रयोगे एतद्रूपं न शास्त्रे इति काल्पनिके रूपे प्राप्तिर्न विद्यते इति नास्ति घसंज्ञा । **अथवाऽस्त्वस्येति** । कार्यदोषाय न संज्ञेति । **समानाधिकरणेषु घादिषु** । अयं तावत् नद्यास्तर इति व्यधिकरणः । प्रकर्षार्थीयौ च स्वार्थिकौ च कारकप्रकर्षे वर्तमानौ समानाधिकरणौ । **यदा तर्हि सैव नदी स (एव) तरः** । ननु च तीर्णिरिति भवितव्यम् । नैष दोषः । यदा तीर्यते इति तरः, तर इति सामान्यमात्रं प्राधान्येनाश्रीयते, पुनस्तीर्यते नदीत्युत्तरकालं विशेषणं तदा नास्ति प्रधानस्य लिङ्गस्य त्यागः, यथा[2] मुखाद्वितीया नासिका वचनमस्येति[3] भवतु वचनी इति । अथवा रूढिः तरो नद्या विशेष्यते । समुदायेषु हि शब्दाः प्रवृत्ता इति । **स्त्रीलिङ्गेषु घादिषु** । स्त्रियामिति च वर्तते । समुदायेषु लिङ्गयोगात् स्वार्थिकोऽपि स्त्रीलिङ्ग इति व्यपदिश्यते । ब्राह्मणीरूपमिवेति । ब्राह्मणीवेयमाकृतिः **ब्राह्मणीरूपमिति** । केचिदुदाहरन्ति—साम्नस्तरः सामतर इति नान्तस्येति नुट् प्राप्नोति । छान्दसत्वान्न भविष्यति इति प्रतिविधीयते ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ७९ प. १६–पृ. ८० प. २)

बहुगुणवतुडति संख्या ॥ १. १. २३ ॥

संख्यासंज्ञायां संख्याग्रहणम् । अधिकरणसप्तमी । संख्यासंज्ञासूत्रे संख्याग्रहणमिति । अथवा संख्यासंज्ञायां विधीयमानायां[4] विहितायां विधास्यमानायां वा संख्याग्रहणमिति । संख्याग्रहणं चास्मिन् योगे बहुगणवतुडतिसंख्याः संख्येत्येवं पठितव्यमित्येतत् प्रदर्श्यते । **संख्या च संख्यासंज्ञा भवतीति वक्तव्यम्** । अथवा एवं पाठः कर्तव्यो ' बहुगणवतुडति संख्या ' । ततः ' संख्या च ' इति । **किं प्रयोजनम्** । अभिप्रायः, यथा च पशुरपत्यं देवता पार्श्वमूध इति लौकिका एवोपादीयन्ते शास्त्रव्यवहारे[5], न ह्येषां शास्त्रान्तरेऽस्ति परिभाषणमिति, एवमेतेऽ-

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१ अयं शब्दो न तरप्शब्द इति । २ यदा. ३ वचनस्येति भक्तु वचनी इति । ४ विधायमानायां विधास्यमानायां विहितायां वा । ५ व्यवहारो.

प्येकादयः [1]शास्त्रान्तरे न परिभाषिता लौकिका एव, लौकिकैश्चैव [2]व्यवह्रियन्ते। अथवा **किं प्रयोजनमिति** किमधिकं कार्यं, प्रतिपत्त्य[3]र्थमाह संख्याग्रहणम्। अथैषामेव बह्वादीनां संचक्षणं संज्ञाप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं बह्वल्पार्थस्य बहुशब्दस्य मा भूत् बहुरोदनः, बहुः सूप इति। पूगवचनस्य च गणश[4]ब्दस्य छन्दोवचनस्य, यथा स्यात्।

लेभिरे [5]वारिसारङ्गो गणश्चात्र पिपासिताः

इति। यदा एवं वर्ण्यते संख्या च बह्वादयः तदा संज्ञा संख्या इति। अध्यवसायार्थमिति प्रदर्शयति॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ८० प. ३–७)

एकादिकायाः (संख्यायाः) **संख्याप्रदेशेष्विति**। संज्ञायाः कार्यार्थत्वात् प्रदेशमेवोपादत्ते। न हि संज्ञिनां संज्ञाप्रतिलम्भार्थमुपादानम्। किं तर्हि। कार्यप्रतिपत्त्यर्थमिति प[6]शुरपत्यमिति **यथा संप्रत्ययः** (स्यात्) एवमिहापि भविष्यतीत्याह—**ननु चैकादिका (संख्या) लोके संख्या (इति) प्रतीतेति**।

(महाभाष्य पृ. ८० प. ८–१०)

इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययोऽकृत्रिमत्वात् यथा लोके। न ब्रूमः प्रदेशेष्विति संज्ञायाः कार्यसंप्रत्ययः। यथेह लोकात् प्रतिपन्नो भवान् एकादयः संख्याशब्दवाच्या इति एवमिह कथम्। कुतः। **कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययः**। यथैव लोकात् प्रतिपन्नो भवान् एकादयः संख्याशब्दवाच्या इति एवमिदमपि लोकेऽवस्थितम्। [7]कृत्रिमे संप्रत्यय इति कोऽयं न्यायो येनैव लोके संप्रत्यय इति। उच्यते। इह गोपालकशब्दोऽर्थविषयनिमित्तमुपादाय प्रवर्तमानः प्रतिविधानं चोपाददीत। यथा [8]पञ्चभिः हलैः कृषतीति कर्तृत्वं गाः पालयत्येता इति जातिं वा।

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१ शास्त्रान्तरेण परिषिता। २ व्यवक्रियते। ३ प्रतिपद्यर्थमाह। ४ गणशब्दस्य मदोवचनस्स. ५ वारिसारंगोगणश्चात्रे पिपासिता इतीदावेयं. ६ पशुरेवायमिति। ७ क्रत्रिमे संप्रयर्थातिकोयं न्यायो येनोयं लोके. ८ पञ्चभिः फालेः कृषातीति कतृत्वं वा पालययेता इति, . .

अथवा रूढिर्निमित्तान्तरेणोपादीयमाना निमित्तान्तरमपसारयति[1] यथा क्रिया जात्यादीनपसारयति इति। तुल्यजातीयविषय एव नियमो भवति, एवमिहापि इति। बह्वादय एवात्र प्रकृता इति भावः[2] ॥

(महाभाष्य पृ. ८० प. ११–१६)

इति महोपाध्यायभर्तृहरिविरचितायां महाभाष्यदीपिकायां
पञ्चममाह्निकम् ॥

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१ निमित्तान्तरमपसार्यीत यथा. २ इतः परं 'सति गुणे ... शब्दानां स्वव्यपदेशः' इति सार्धषपङ्क्त्यात्मको भागो हस्तलिखिते दृश्यते। तदनन्तरमुर्वरितसूत्रभागस्य तथैव च 'ष्णान्ता षट्,' 'डति च' क्तक्तवतू निष्ठा' इत्येषां त्रयाणां सूत्राणां व्याख्यानं नैवोपलभ्यते। कदाचिल्लुप्तं स्यात्। कदाचिदन्वेषणप्रयत्नः सफलोपि भविता।

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FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1	Place of Publication	Poona.
2	Periodicity of its Publication	Four issues in a year.
3	Printer's Name	Dr. R. N. Dandekar
	Nationality	Indian.
	Address	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4.
4	Publisher's Name	Dr. R. N. Dandekar
	Nationality	Indian.
	Address	Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona 4.
5	Editors' Names	(1) Dr. R. N. Dandekar, (2) Dr. A. D. Pusalker,
	Nationality	Indian.
	Address	(1) Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona 4. (2) —do—
6	Names and Address of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one-percent of the total capital.	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4.

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